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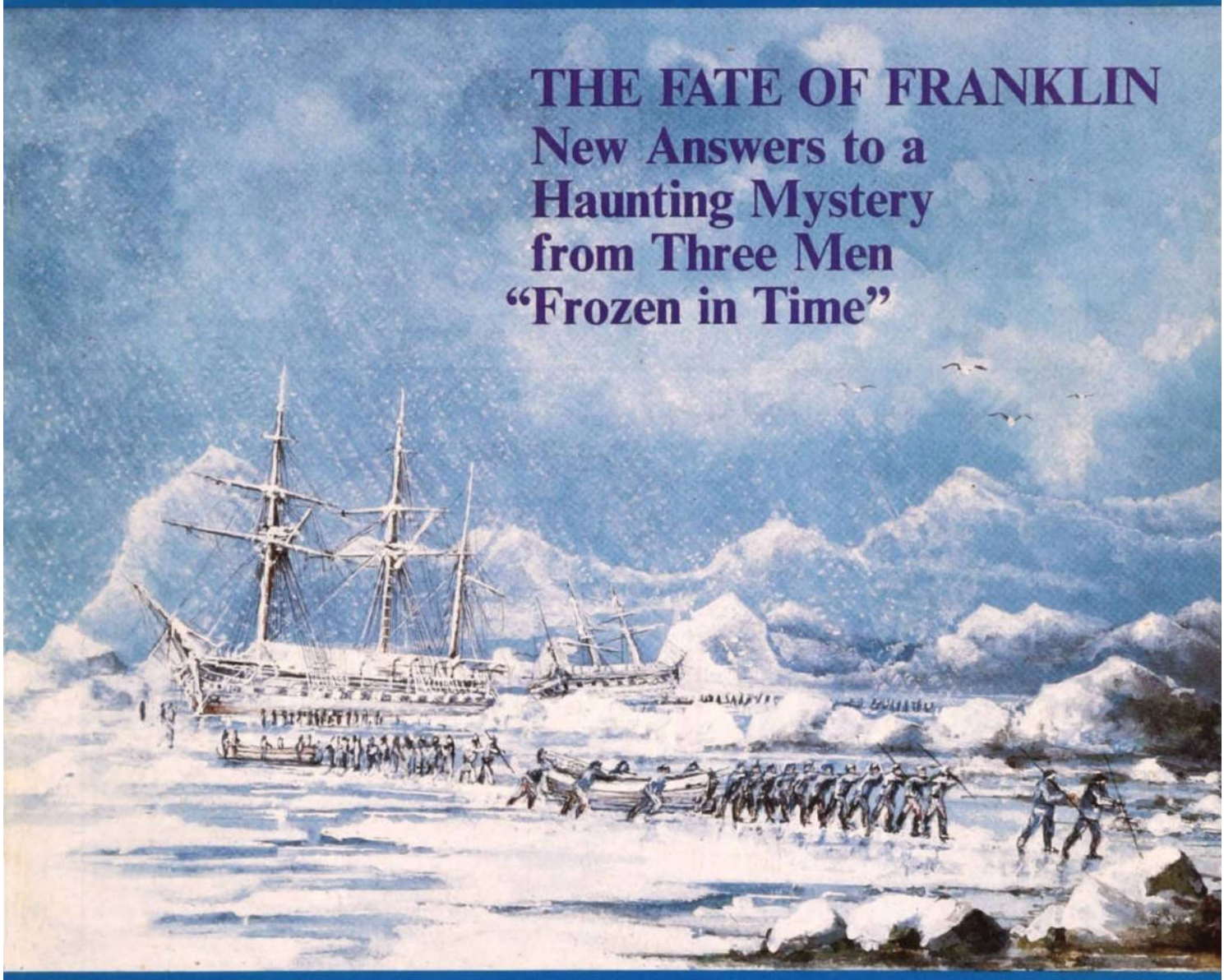
The Beaver

EXPLORING · CANADA'S · HISTORY



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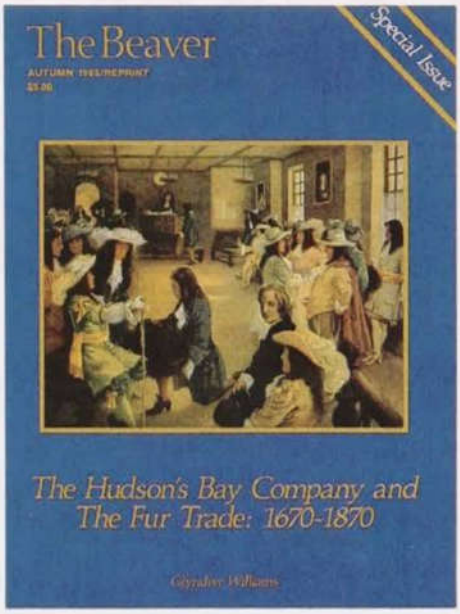
TORONTO: The Rise to Dominance

1918 — No Armistice with Death



THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY AND THE FUR TRADE 1670-1870

By GLYNDWR WILLIAMS

86 pages. Illustrated

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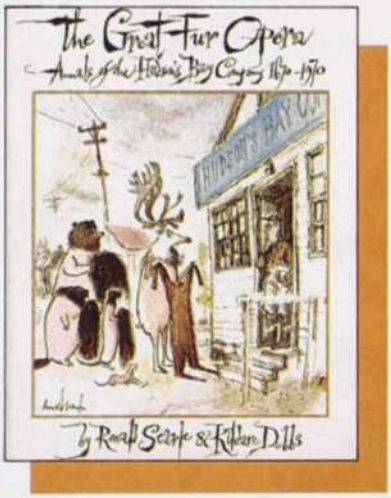

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Franklin's party abandoning the ships, 1848. Artist unknown. Royal Ontario Museum.

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The Beaver

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The Mirror of an Age

TORONTO AND GEORGE BROWN'S GLOBE

By Randall White

Five days before Christmas 1855 some 5,000 Torontonians gathered at the elaborately decorated workshops of the new Ontario, Simcoe & Huron Railroad for an exuberant "Great Railway Celebration". They were welcoming what they saw as the dawn of a new era for the city on the northwestern shore of Lake Ontario, where English-speaking settlement had begun just over 60 years before.

At this point in its career Toronto was not at all the largest Canadian metropolis and its 11-year-old Board of Trade could certainly not claim that it was "Canada's leading financial and industrial centre", as the modern Board of Trade of Metropolitan Toronto claims for the metropolis of today.

In the early 1850s the place had a recorded population of only somewhat more than 30,000 people. It was smaller than either Montreal (58,000) or Quebec City (42,000) in the other Canada of the lower St. Lawrence River Valley to the east. It was also smaller than either Buffalo (43,000) or Rochester (36,000) across Lake Ontario and the Niagara River, in neighbouring New York State. Only within the past decade and a half had it supplanted Kingston (and clearly outdistanced Hamilton) as the largest city in what is now Southern Ontario.

What Toronto in 1855 lacked in statistical profile, however, it made up for in optimism and imagination. And to many residents of the place the evidence to support its optimism seemed beyond dispute.

At the start of the year, the Ontario, Simcoe & Huron Railroad (soon to be overenthusiastically publicized as "The Great Northern Railway of Canada") was completed from Toronto to Collingwood on Georgian Bay. As luck would have it, an American canal between Lakes Huron and Superior, at Sault Ste. Marie, was completed during the same year. The resulting great northern rail and water transportation route revived the vision of the old Toronto Passage to

the Northwest — an 1800s echo of the dramatic westward reach of the French and Indian fur trade in the Canada of the 1600s and 1700s.

By the end of 1855 Toronto was also linked to the Great Western Railway which, via Hamilton, gave it new access to more southerly American railways in the states of Michigan and New York. Only a year earlier the first Canadian-American Reciprocity Treaty had been signed, providing for free trade in resource products between British North America and the United States of America.

Moreover, shrewd and foxy as they were, the rising Canadian merchants of Toronto had a hedge for their bets on the commerce of the U.S.A. By late November 1855 the Grand Trunk Railway, running west from Montreal, had been completed as far as Brockville. Within just under a year it would be in Toronto. Canada-U.S. free trade and the new technology of the railway age had crystallized the city's historic development strategy of rising in the interior of Canada and the North American Midwest, by playing off the competing Atlantic seaports of Montreal and New York City.

Beyond the borders of the City of Toronto itself, the first Canadian wheat economy of Southern Ontario was in the midst of a resounding boom. The virgin Great Lakes forest was being energetically chopped down in aid of the commerce of the British Empire, and (more urgently) to build houses in the rapidly growing cities of the adjacent northeastern United States. In fact, no one had yet conceived the name "Southern Ontario". The place was variously known as Upper Canada, Western Canada, or Canada West. Only a few years later it would boast the first working oil well in North America.

In 1855 even some Toronto residents could not believe that as many as 10,000 people had come to the city in the past four or five years, as would be reported in the census of 1856. But everyone knew that the place was booming, as it had never boomed before.

Soon enough the great boom would turn into a big bust, during the North American Financial Panic of 1857. Many ups and downs lay ahead for the merchants of Toronto and their various biological and sociological heirs, but in the supremely bubbling and buoyant year of 1855 Toronto had at last decided that it really was a city with a destiny. It had begun to imagine that it might one day rival or even surpass Montreal as a leading business centre in Canada, and rise above the adjacent American cities of the Great Lakes. It had begun to acquire an instinct for what it would only genuinely become more than a century later.

Opposite page: Toronto in 1854. From the collection of the Royal Ontario Museum.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, other Canadian cities have been in a state not unlike that of the Toronto which gathered at the Great Railway Celebration of 1855. And who can say just what the configuration of urban places in the most northern part of North America will look like a century from now?

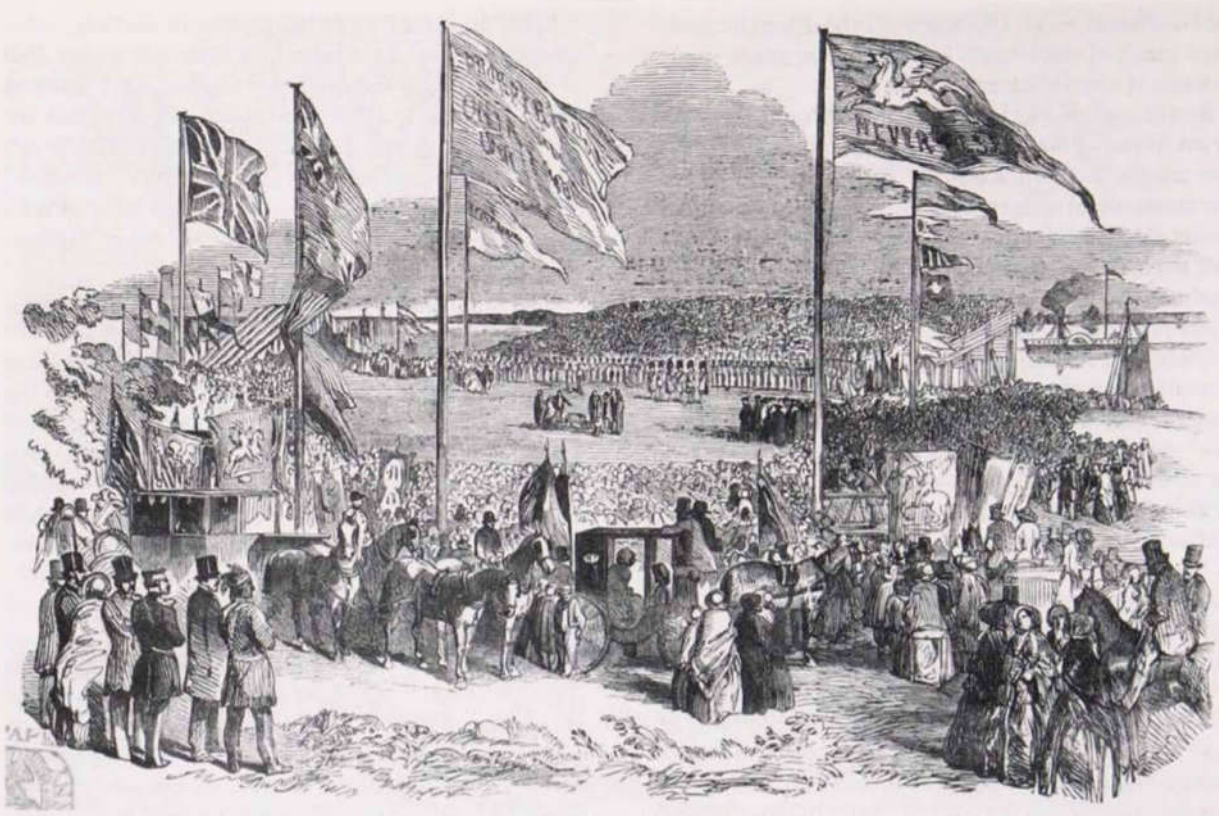
This may or may not lend more than local interest to the question: What was it like to be in Toronto, Canada West, in 1855?

One initial approach to working up to an answer is to look at recent publications. Since the end of the Second World War, for instance, such historians and writers as Donald Masters, Jacob Spelt, G.P. deT. Glazebrook, William Kilbourn, F.H. Armstrong, and J.M.S. Careless have produced intriguing books that include material on Toronto in the 1850s. For added depth, the architectural historians Eric Arthur and William Dendy (the first originally from New Zealand, and the second from Alberta) have put together elegant collections of photographs and drawings of old city buildings.

Moreover, some buildings that were standing in the Toronto of 1855 are themselves still standing in the metropolis of today. In one form or another a variety of structures have survived to give us some vague sense of the physiology of the mid-nineteenth century city. They include the Grange at the north end of John Street, the Bank of Upper Canada on Adelaide Street East, the Commercial Bank on Wellington Street West, the Church of the Holy Trinity (now set in the midst of the Eaton Centre), St. Lawrence Hall on King Street East, Oakham House on Church Street (preserved as part of the modern Ryerson Polytechnical Institute), St. James' Cathedral on King Street East, St. Michael's Cathedral on Bond Street, the York County Courthouse (now known as the Adelaide Court Theatres), the Enoch Turner Schoolhouse on Trinity Street, and the Seventh Post Office on Toronto Street.

Today the capacity of these buildings to serve as pathways to the past is thwarted by their modern setting. We know that in 1855 these now rather small but often impressive structures were set at the edge of wooden plank sidewalks, leading to streets that were still, as Careless has put it, "muddy laneways, churned constantly by jostling wagons or spattering carriages, and pungent with manure." Residents of the city of the 1850s were impressed that they had access to the very up-to-date innovation of gas lighting. But the municipal water and sewage system was at best in its infancy. Most city residences still had wells for water, and a privy in the backyard.

Similarly, by the end of the 1850s the official City of Toronto would encompass the area from the Lake Ontario waterfront north to Bloor Street, and from the Don River west to Dufferin Street. But the more northerly, westerly, and easterly reaches of the space were



Metropolitan Toronto Library Board

Toronto celebrates the arrival of the railway age: The Earl of Elgin launches the Ontario, Simcoe & Huron Railroad, 1855.

still in the wilderness. A building such as Oakham House, now in the heart of downtown Toronto, was a suburban estate when the architect William Thomas had it erected for himself and his family in 1848. Even in the 1850s many of the original city elite still lived in rather modest mansions close to the Lake Ontario shoreline (though the advent of the railways had begun the waterfront transformation that would push them elsewhere before too long).

You have to use your imagination to get a grip on the mid-nineteenth century city from recent books and old buildings alone. You can do at least one thing today, however, that almost exactly replicates the experience of someone living in Toronto in 1855. You can read the copies of old newspapers that have survived along with old buildings.

There is a difference between reading late-twentieth century microfilms of 1855 newspapers on a machine in a crowded library, and poring over the original pages in the room adjacent to your basement kitchen (in the kind of dwelling that average "middle class" Torontonians of the 1850s tended to inhabit — a very up-to-date version of which can be explored today at the Mackenzie House restoration on Bond Street). But what you see on the printed page is exactly what someone saw in 1855.

Among the various newspapers that served Toronto in the 1850s, the one with the largest circulation (not just in the city, but in Canada West at large) was George Brown's *Globe*. It was also the newspaper most tuned in to the bubbling, buoyant mood of the great boom of the 1850s. And it is, not surprisingly, the best preserved and most accessible old Toronto newspaper for readers of today.

Brown had established the *Globe* in 1844 — the same year that the Toronto Board of Trade was founded. And a peculiar symbiosis would develop between the two enterprises. By the later 1850s the Board of Trade was nodding in agreement with a celebrated *Globe* editorial of 26 December 1856: "Let the merchants of Toronto consider, that if their city is ever to be made really great — if it is ever to rise above the rank of a fifth rate Amercian town — it must be by the development of the great British territory lying to the north and west" (by which George Brown meant the Northern Ontario and Western Canada of today).

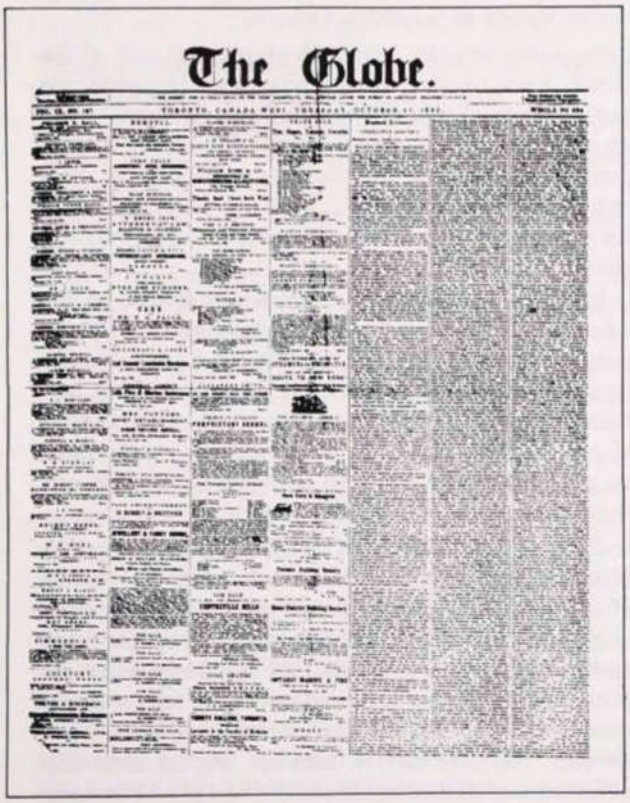
Brown was in fact typical of the new generation of "merchants of Toronto" who re-made the business life of the city between 1840 and 1870. He was a Scottish Presbyterian from Edinburgh. He settled in Toronto in the early 1840s — an ambitious young man who, though still only in his mid-20s, had already spent half

a dozen years working, with his father, in what we might now call the media and communications sector of New York City. Brown and his father were involved with publications that catered to the British community in New York, and Brown would be a staunch supporter of "British institutions" in Canada. He had no use, however, for the old British Tory elite of the Toronto Family Compact. Canada West was still an overwhelmingly agrarian society on the North American model. Like Abraham Lincoln, whom he also much admired, George Brown spoke up for "the rural population, the reading population who rule in the United States." By the later 1850s he had become the dominant figure in the Central Canadian Reform Party that would go on to help forge the Liberal Party of the modern Canadian Confederation.

By 1855 the *Globe* was being published every day of the week except Sunday (or "every lawful morning", as it put the point itself). But it was much less bulky than a modern newspaper. The daily edition was made up of an approximately 34" x 44" sheet, folded once, to give the reader four 17" x 22" pages of printed matter. Each page was organized into nine vertical columns. And the front page carried the motto: *The subject who is truly loyal to the Chief magistrate will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures - Junius* (which still appears on the editorial page of the *Globe and Mail* today).

Metropolitan Toronto Library Board

George Brown of the Globe.



The Globe.

The lion's share of the front page was taken up by advertisements and commercial announcements, with one or sometimes two (and occasionally three) densely printed columns of news copy, broadly defined, at the right-hand edge of the page. Prominent among these ads were a series of exotic notices placed under the general heading "Travelling Register". The details change with the season, but here we can see something of the geographic reach and external connections of the rising city.

From January through to December 1855 there are ads for Toronto's "own" railway — the Ontario, Simcoe & Huron. As the winter starts to thaw, ads for such things as the steamer *Louisiana* also appear. It would take people or freight from the northern end of the OS&H line at Collingwood, to points west such as Mackinac in Michigan, or Sault Ste. Marie in the more northerly reaches of Canada West. By the late spring of 1855 ads were appearing as well on behalf of "Vickers' Northern Express via OS&H Railroad. For Barrie, Orillia, Collingwood, Owen Sound, Bruce Mines, Sault Ste. Marie, Green Bay, Chicago."

Carrying similar themes in another direction, ads were run as well under the heading "Toronto and Oswego" (the latter being a southern Lake Ontario port in New York State, with links to Toronto that stretched back to the British, French, and Indian fur

trade of the early 1700s). On 3 January 1855 it was announced that the "well-known low pressure upper cabin steamers", *Mayflower* and *Champion*, were part of a "Daily Line between Toronto and Oswego in connection with the Ontario, Simcoe and Huron Railroad, and by the New York Central and New York and Erie Railroad to New York".

The New York & Erie Railroad also ran "Through from Toronto to N.York by Steamboat and Railroad in connection with the new Steamboat *Zimmerman*". Alternatively again, you could respond to the ad that declared: "Quickest and Cheapest Route from Toronto to Buffalo! Albany, Rochester, and the Western States, N. York, Boston, and the other Atlantic cities, via Niagara Falls, Carrying the Mails. The Steamer *Chief Justice Robinson*, until further notice, will leave the Queen's Wharf at half past Eight O'clock, AM, for Niagara, Queenston, and Lewiston."

If your preference was to do business with the British merchants of Montreal, rather than the American merchants of New York, the "well-known first class steamers" *Ottawa*, *Britannia*, *England*, *Hibernia*, *Ontario*, *St. Lawrence*, *Free Trader*, and *Lord Elgin* offered a "Daily Through Freight and Passage Line between Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton . . . One of the above will leave Montreal daily for Kingston, Toronto, and Hamilton, calling at intermediate ports." When the port of Montreal was icebound, in the depths of winter, you could arrange to send goods or people to and from Portland, Maine, and from Liverpool, England, via "The Canadian Steam Navigation Company under contract with Her Majesty's Provincial Government of Canada".

In fact, by the end of 1856 Toronto's new links with the Great Western and Grand Trunk railways would spell the beginning of the end for the city's affair with the romantic golden age of the Great Lakes steamer. And even in 1855 a shrewd reader of the *Globe* could have seen the writing on the wall.

The second page of the economical four-page newspaper of the day, for instance, was given over to nine densely printed columns of editorial and hard news copy. For the edition of 9 March 1855 it included an item headed "Opening of the Niagara Railway Suspension Bridge", which read:

> The following telegraph dispatch announcing that the first locomotive had crossed the suspension bridge over the Niagara was received yesterday;—
>
> Elgin, 8th
>
> The locomotive *London* crossed the Suspension Bridge this afternoon at three o'clock amid a concourse of spectators. A great many more would have been there had it not been kept quiet . . . The Union Jack and Stars and Stripes were displayed. The engine was stopped in the centre of the bridge to give three hearty cheers, and then crossed to the American side and back."

Soon enough it would be possible to travel from Toronto to New York (and from Toronto to Montreal) entirely by rail.

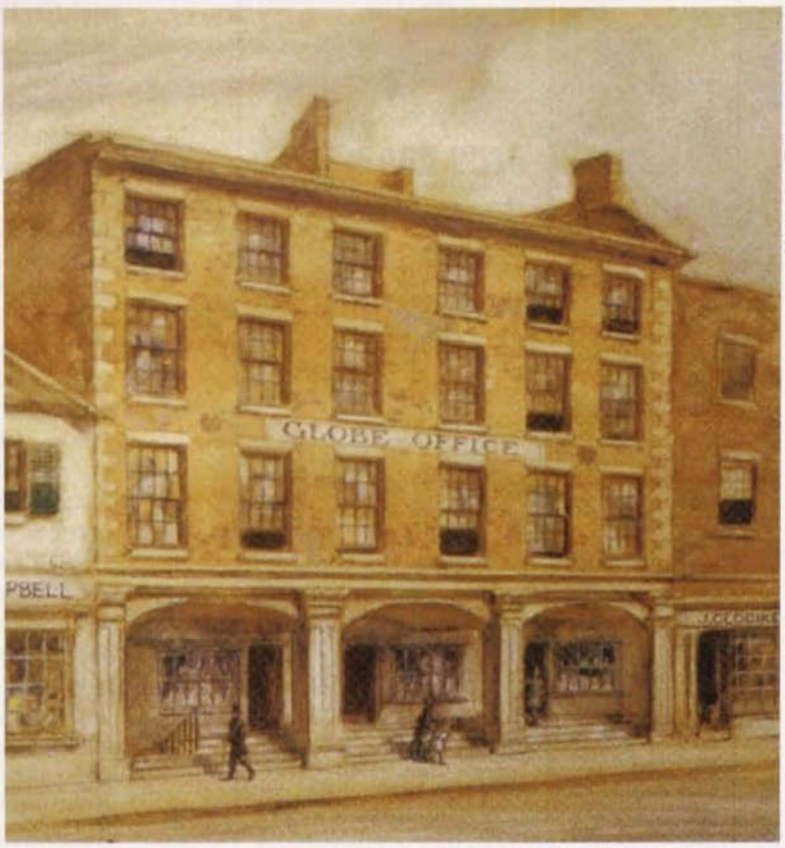
Page two of the *Globe* typically informed its readers about a wide variety of other local and regional events. Certain items suggest that some problems in Toronto today were also problems more than 130 years ago. The 5 January 1855 issue carries a story on "Crime in the City". Stories headed "Pistols Sold to Children" and "The Dog Nuisance" appeared on 28 June.

Other page two news copy of this sort points to unique mid-nineteenth century forms of progress. On 1 January 1855 the *Globe* reported that a "party of eight Indians" had been engaged to deliver mail from Detroit to the Lake Superior region during the winter. On 21 March there was something of a philosophical article on the significance of the laying of the cornerstone for the new Toronto Exchange building — "a sign that our trade is passing out of its infancy." On 19 April an item appeared about plans for a new decimal coinage that within a few years would become the ancestor of modern Canadian currency. (For the moment a variety of British, American, local, and other coinage and specie was still circulating, at values officially pegged in pounds sterling.) On 16 November there was an article on "The Future of Western Canada" — which then meant, for the most part, what is now known as Southern Ontario.

Page two was the serious, high-minded part of the *Globe*. Even so, it mixed its reports on the problems and progress of mid-nineteenth century Toronto with sound practical advice. A 5 April 1855 report on government business at Quebec City was prefaced by a reminder, set in bold type: "Be sure to pay your Gas Rent by the 15th instant, and save the forty per cent discount."

In effect, the second page typically began on the extreme right-hand edge of page one, and sometimes spilled over onto the extreme left-hand edge of page three. The rest of the paper, on pages one, three, and four, was given over to advertising and related forms of commercial and public announcement. In Toronto, as in other places, the link between advertising and the daily press is not something new.

The ads in the *Globe* of 1855, however, are rather different from newspaper ads of today. They are a kind of mix of the big commercial spreads that take up large parts (or even all) of a modern newspaper page, and the more personal classified ads that private citizens still use to buy, sell, and rent such things as real estate, automobiles, furniture, and even to meet "companions" of one sort or another. Put a somewhat different way, the ads in the *Globe* of 1855 have some-



Metropolitan Toronto Library Board

The Globe office on King St. West, sketched in 1854.

thing in common with the community notice boards in a modern neighbourhood supermarket.

Some reflect the progress of the booming city. A notice addressed "To Business Men!", for instance, announced an auction of property at the corner of Bathurst and King Streets, to be held "On Tuesday, the 8th Day of May". The ad suggested that nearby waterfront improvements, made in connection with the Queen's Wharf and the "Northern Railroad freight depot . . . will without doubt cause the formation of a thickly populated suburb, which will in the course of a very short time be absorbed in the business portion of the city".

In other kinds of ads, retail merchants announced their latest bargains, as they still do today. In some cases the style betrays a gentility that has now largely disappeared. An ad for 22 May declared that the firm of Score & Hall at No. 25 Yonge Street "Beg to inform the gentry of Canada West, and their friends generally, that their spring stock of choice West of England cloths . . . has come to hand." Yet, with his eye on a more modern kind of market, under the heading "Clothing for the Million" on 18 April (and one million people was in fact about the total population of all Canada West at the time), W.B. Hamilton announced that "the old stand No. 5, City Buildings, King Street East" had an "immense stock of ready-made clothing . . . at very much reduced prices".

Still other ads throughout 1855 announced: the formation and dissolution of business partnerships; the matrimonial availability of a well-to-do gentleman from England; sales of furniture and all manner of construction materials; jobs in various business enterprises of the rising city; opportunities for investing money; the activities of such organizations as the Canadian Protestant Association and the Anti-Slavery Office; circuses; theatrical events; finishing schools for young ladies; life and fire insurance; and the unique pleasures of "The Turkish Coffee House and Oyster Depot . . . No. 1 Church and corner of Wellington Streets".

Back on the more serious and high-minded second page, the *Globe*'s coverage of what is now known as national news focused on printing debates and votes in the "Provincial Parliament, House of Assembly" for the United Province of Canada.

Since its beginnings in 1841, in the wake of the Upper and Lower Canadian Rebellions of the late 1830s, the United Province, intended among other things to anglicize French Canada, had in fact become an exotic exercise in French and English political dual-

Auction Sales.

Toronto Auction Mart, King St.

SALE OF

WEST-END CITY PROPERTY.

Corner of Bathurst & King Sts.

TO BUSINESS MEN!

Messrs. Wakefield, Coate & Co,

BEG to draw the attention of persons desiring to invest in real estate to the following eligible Property, which they will offer for sale

ON TUESDAY, THE 8TH DAY OF MAY.

A number of Building Lots on the north-east corner of King and Bathurst Streets, having a frontage of 208 feet on King Street, by 193 on Bathurst.

The present and prospective value of this property will be best understood by observing the improvements which are now being made in the neighbourhood of the Queen's Wharf. The Northern Railroad freight depot has been occupied for some time, and the wharf belonging to the company, directly at the foot of Bathurst Street, is rapidly approaching completion. At this point will be embarked and landed all the American freight which is expected to pass over the road to and from Lake Huron, and it will also be the through passenger depot of the line. Beyond the Queen's Wharf, the Toronto and Hamilton Railway Company are constructing their freight depot with wharves and passenger station, and it is certain that the Grand Trunk Company will have a terminus in the same vicinity. When it is added to these circumstances the fact that the Queen's Wharf, both as a summer and winter freighting and passenger depot, is yearly increasing in importance, some idea may be formed of the extent of shipping business which will soon be transacted in the immediate neighbourhood of Bathurst Street. Round the termini of the railroads, manufactories of various kinds will grow up as a matter of course, McLean & Wright's large establishment being the first of the kind, and the workmen employed in them will require a large amount of building accommodation.

These improvements will without doubt cause the formation of a thickly populated suburb, which will in the course of a very short time be absorbed in the business portion of the city. Bathurst Street being one of the leading avenues to the roads north and north-west of the city, including the streets passing through the Cruickshank property, now being rapidly covered with buildings, it affords peculiar facilities for being made, in connection with the position near the western wharves, the Yonge Street of the west end of the city.

The lots which Messrs. W. C. & Co. now offer for sale are situated at the junction of Bathurst with King Street, the great avenue of the city running east and west, a point which will probably form the centre of the district, since it will communicate directly with all the leading streets of the neighbourhood.

The lots will be disposed of on very easy terms. One-fifth only will be required down, and the balance may remain on mortgage for the term of nine years, interest payable half yearly.

SALE AT ONE O'CLOCK, P. M.

☞ Lithographed plans may be seen at the rooms of Messrs. W. C. & Co., and elsewhere.

Toronto, April, 18, 1855. 1555-td

ism. By 1855 it was presided over by a double-premiered single elected government for what are now, in effect, the two provinces of Ontario and Quebec. The first such government had been known as "Lafontaine-Baldwin", after the two premiers involved. The second was "Hincks-Morin". The current version, in 1855, was "McNab-Morin" — a strange, transitional alliance of English Tories and moderate French and some English Reformers, that would ultimately be succeeded by "Cartier-Macdonald" (an alliance of French and English conservatives that would play a key role in the wider Canadian Confederation of 1867).

George Brown himself held a seat in the Provincial Parliament, and had already begun his career as a leading English Canadian Reform politician, who would ultimately become, as Professor Careless has put it, "the voice of Upper Canada".

In the *Globe* the parliamentary debates themselves were reported more or less verbatim. But in accompanying commentaries abuse was generously heaped upon the English Canadian Tories: only kept in power by their allies among the French Catholic "Priestocracy", which perpetuated the out-of-date "monkish atmosphere of Lower Canada" for its own narrow ends (or so at least the story went). Even Reformers who did not vote according to George Brown's conceptions of true Reform "Principle" were named, and frankly branded as "Traitors".

At the start of 1855 the "seat of government" for the United Province was located in Quebec City. At the beginning of things, in 1841, it had been in Kingston. Then it moved to the more centrally situated Montreal. In 1849, however, irate Montreal English Tories had set fire to the Parliament Buildings, to protest the achievement of "responsible" colonial self-government, under the French and English moderate Reform alliance known as Lafontaine-Baldwin.

The seat of government was then moved to Toronto. This brought protests from Lower Canada, and the seat of government was then moved to Quebec City. Now, in 1855, if the rising voice of Upper Canada had his way, Toronto would get its turn again. As it happened, the second page of the *Globe* for 30 March, under the heading "Seat of Government Question", was able to report that:

> Mr. Brown's amendment, bringing the seat of government to Toronto for the next four years, and leaving the question of a permanent place for after discussion, was carried by a majority of 17, in spite of the most strenuous opposition. This settles the matter in the meantime, and our citizens may prepare for the inroad of officials. Where they are to find room puzzles everyone who knows the state of our crowded city.

It is a mark of the mid-nineteenth century city's rising status, and its particular situation, that more than just local merchants advertised in the pages of the Toronto *Globe* in 1855.

Every edition of the paper, for instance, contained a section entitled "American Advertisements". Here such firms as "Nesmith & Co., No. 71 Broadway, New York" would announce "for sale a large assortment of cotton and woollen goods". Or the Rainbow Hotel would point out that "Gentlemen visiting New York on business or pleasure will find a home at this estab-

lishment *at moderate charges*". There were ads as well for the New York bankers "Messrs. Duncan, Sherman & Co.", for the Canadian Corn Exchange in Rochester, and (by the spring of 1855) for "Buchanan & McKendrick, Produce and General Commission Merchants, Custom House Brokers, Suspension Bridge, Niagara County, New York".

Virtually every edition of the paper included as well directories for Oswego, Buffalo, and Montreal. These were the three port cities of the day with which the Great Lakes port of Toronto transacted its most direct and most frequent mercantile commerce: Buffalo on the Niagara River and Lake Erie, Oswego on the south shore of Lake Ontario, and Montreal — the nineteenth century business capital of Canada, on the lower St. Lawrence River.

Page two of the *Globe* also carried frequent coverage of events and issues in the United States. There were even very early hints of what some see as modern Toronto's somewhat odd leanings toward the Pacific Rim. Commodore Perry had just negotiated the first U.S. commercial treaty with Japan in 1854. And throughout 1855 the *Globe's* "Travelling Register" recurrently carried an ad for the "New York & California Steamship Line, via Nicaragua . . . The Cheapest and Healthiest Route . . . Through in Advance of the Mails".

George Brown once urged his readers to recognize that "we too are Americans" (which more than a few English-speaking Canadians do in fact seem to have recognized with some warmth, during the generation before the American Civil War). But one reason for his success in the mid-nineteenth century politics of the self-governing British colony of United Canada was that he also staunchly supported the future of British institutions north of the Great Lakes. The *Globe's* coverage of international news was filtered through its faith in and esteem for the noble cause of the British Empire (with the Indian Mutiny in South Asia still two or three years away).

The great international event of 1855 was the Crimean War, which would create such icons of Empire as Florence Nightingale and "The Charge of the Light Brigade". Fortunately for the new experiment of the French and English United Province of Canada, Britain and France were in fact allied against Russia in the war. (And, for the moment at least, just as there was a Queen in England, so there was an Emperor in France.) In Toronto, however, reliable news about the Crimean War, and most other international events, tended to come only from London, England. Getting it sometimes raised problems familiar to Canadians today. As an item from the *Globe* for 6 March 1855 revealed:

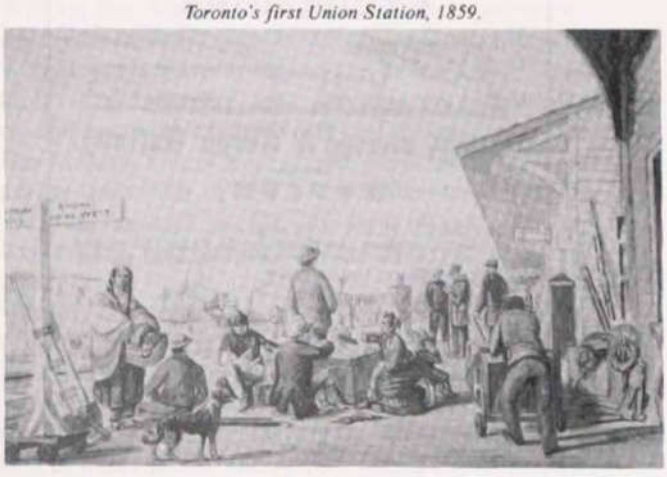
> The English mail did not arrive in town till eleven o'clock last night, and even then we were unable to obtain our letters and papers from the post-office. We received, however, a copy of a London paper of the latest date, from a passenger by the *Canada*, and are thus enabled to make up, to a certain extent, for the failings of the post-office department.

Ontario Archives

Sir Allan Napier McNab.

On 21 March 1855 the *Globe* reported that at the House of Assembly in Quebec City, on the "motion of Sir A. McNab, it was ordered that the Clerk of this House do forward copies of the journals of this House . . . to his Excellency the President of the United States

Toronto's first Union Station, 1859.



THE GREAT WESTERN RAILROAD.

THE STEAMER

Chief Justice Robinson,

CAPTAIN MURD OCH,

HAVING undergone a thorough overhauling after the winter's work, will continue for the remainder of the season to ply regularly, leaving Toronto at 7 o'clock A. M., and Hamilton at 2 o'clock, calling at Canal, Oakville, and the Credit each way (weather permitting.)

M. W. BROWNE.

Hamilton, 12th May, 1855. 1587-tf

☞ Colonist and Leader to copy.

TORONTO and HAMILTON.

"Steamer "Zimmerman,"

CAPTAIN MILLOY,

WILL until further notice leave Browne's Wharf for Hamilton and intermediate ports, every day Sundays excepted, at two p. m., in place of Steamer "Welland."

A. DRUMMOND,
Agent.

Toronto, May 16, 1855. 1588-tf

TORONTO & OSWEGO STEAMBOAT LINE.

ALTERATION OF HOURS.

THE Trains on the OSWEGO and SYRACUSE RAILROAD having changed their hours of departure, in connection with the Railroads to New York these steamers will, in future, leave Toronto as follows

"CHAMPION:"

Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday, at 6 P. M. punctually.

"MAY FLOWER:"

Monday, Wednesday and Friday, at 6 P. M. punctually.

☞ Passengers by these boats may depend on making connection with the train arriving in New York on the ensuing evening, thus making the most agreeable and expeditious route to that City, and avoiding all night travel on Railroads.

Toronto, May 21, 1855. 1603-tf

EXCURSIONS.

Ontario, Simcoe & Huron Railway.

NOTICE.

EXCURSION TICKETS for trips from Toronto to Lake Simcoe, making the circuits of the Lake, and returning to Toronto the same day are now issued at the Toronto Ticket Office of the Company

Price 12s. 6d. currency. Children half price.

A. BRUNEL,
Superintendent.

Superintendent's Office,
Toronto, May 14th, 1855. 1587-1m

of America, and to the Senate and House of Representatives". In the bizarre transitional politics of the United Province of Canada in the mid-1850s, McNab, the old Tory "Laird of Dundurn Castle" in Hamilton, was making a bid for much-needed support from more Reform-minded members of the Provincial Parliament from his "own section" of Canada West.

On the other hand, on 21 November 1855 the *Globe* reported that the Grand Trunk Railroad from Montreal had reached Brockville. As it happened, it would be in Toronto by October of 1856, strengthening the city's hedge against overenthusiastic overtures from the merchants of New York. Though it would take a while, in the end Toronto would be something more than Rochester or Buffalo.

On Monday, 24 December 1855 the *Globe* carried some reflections on "the great Railroad Celebration of Thursday" — held in the workshops of Toronto's own northern railway of the upper Great Lakes and the romantic Northwest of the ancient Canadian fur trade. It also reprinted excerpts from an article on Toronto's "Railway Celebration" in the *New York Herald*.

The celebrants at the workshops of the northern railway, just before the Christmas of 1855, were no doubt, and understandably enough, not too worried over the storm clouds that lay on the city's horizon. Nonetheless, there would be the Financial Panic of 1857, and then, only a few years later, the American Civil War.

In 1866, just after the end of the Civil War, a new kind of American Union would cancel its 1854 Reciprocity Treaty with the British North American colonies (though Toronto's links with the commerce of New York would not at all disappear). In 1867 a wider Canadian Confederation was born, and by 1871 it would stretch "from sea to sea" in what enthusiasts would call "the northern half of North America".

The Confederation began as the first self-governing dominion of the British Empire. Yet it would not really start to become something more than an elevated kind of British colony until after the end of the Second World War in 1945. Montreal, the old business capital of Canada, would remain the largest Canadian metropolis until the mid-1970s. But in its own way, the spirit of the Great Railway Celebration could not be crushed. In ways too varied to be enumerated, something of Toronto, Canada West in 1855, as seen through the eyes of George Brown's *Globe*, still survives today — in Toronto, and in other parts of Canada as well.

♦

Randall White is the author of "Fur Trade to Free Trade: Putting the Canada-U.S. Trade Agreement in Perspective" and "Ontario 1610-1985: A Political and Economic History", both published by Dundurn Press.

THE FATE OF FRANKLIN: PART ONE

In the Wake of Erebus and Terror

By D. Bruce Stewart

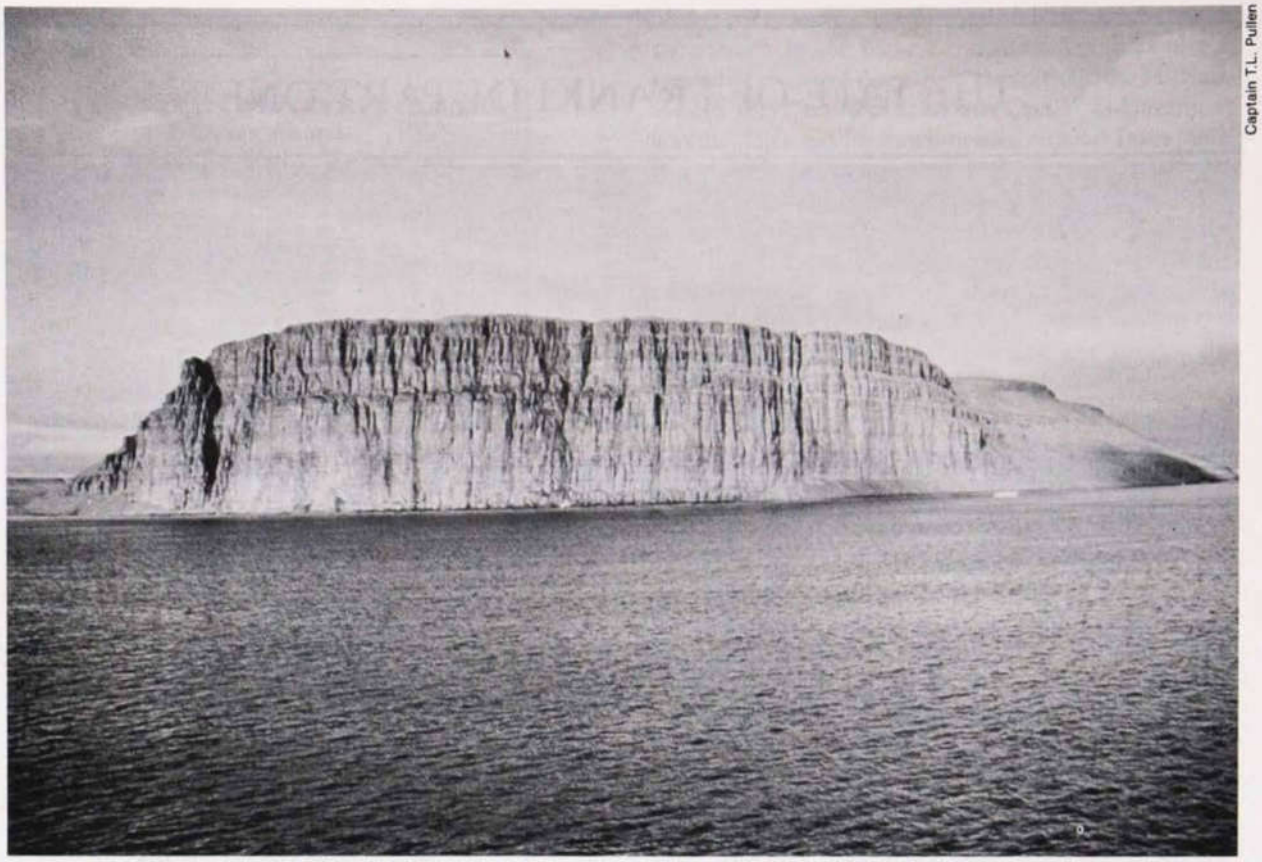
The yacht *Mary*'s mast juts from the barren rocky shore, starkly silhouetted against the icy Northwest Passage. In the distance lie the sheer cliffs of Devon Island, above us the clouds are a cold, threatening grey, and the bleak limestone beach at our feet is scattered with rusting barrel hoops. We are standing on Beechey Island at the crossroads of Canadian arctic exploration.

In itself, Beechey Island is a desolate, unremarkable place. Situated on the north side of Lancaster Sound, it is near the southwestern corner of larger Devon Island, in the middle of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago. Indeed it is barely an island, since you can walk to Devon Island on a narrow gravel isthmus that emerges at low tide to form the west side of Erebus Bay. It is small, only 2.5 kilometres across, but prominent, rising steeply from the sea to a flat plateau 190 metres high. The cliffs and beach are composed of bare, weathered limestone. There are no trees and few plants.

The first Europeans arrived on Beechey Island during the calm Sunday afternoon of 22 August 1819. They were sailors from William Edward Parry's expedition to search for a Northwest Passage in His Majesty's ships *Hecla* and *Griper*. The party, led by First Lieutenant Frederick William Beechey, rowed ashore during a lull in the wind to examine the western side of a small bay on the southwestern coast of Devon Island. They discovered that the land was an island, and Parry named it after the lieutenant's father, Sir William Beechey, who was a fashionable London portrait painter.

That might have remained the island's only claim to fame had not Sir John Franklin on his ill-fated voyage in search of the Northwest Passage sheltered Her Majesty's ships *Erebus* and *Terror* in the harbour during the winter of 1845-46 and then vanished into the arctic ice with his 128 crewmen. Instead, Beechey Island has a rich historical record and the list of men who followed Franklin to its shores reads like the Who's Who of arctic exploration — Austin, Penny, Ross, Forsyth, Inglefield, Belcher, Kellett, Pullen, McClure, McClintock, Amundsen, Low, Bernier, Larsen . . .

When Franklin and his men failed to return by 1847, the British Admiralty, fearing the worst, mounted the first of many public and private search expeditions. It



Captain T.L. Pullen

Previous page: Wellington Channel, Beechey Island, circa 1852. Watercolour on paper by James Hamilton from the collection of the Glenbow Museum, Calgary. Above: Beechey Island.

sailed in 1848, under the command of Sir James Clark Ross and returned empty-handed. Indeed, no one was sure that Franklin had crossed Baffin Bay and entered Lancaster Sound until 23 August 1850, when Captain Erasmus Ommanney, who was searching the south shore of Devon Island with H.M.S. *Assistance* and *Intrepid* landed at Cape Riley. On the beach below the prominent headland they discovered the first traces of Franklin's expedition — rubbish, rags, broken bottles, a tent site, and a rake.

Excited by their finds and confident that documents containing information on Franklin's whereabouts would soon be found, they were attracted to a cairn on the summit of nearby Beechey Island. The 60 horsepower steam tender *Intrepid* forced its way through the pack ice to land a boat-full of unarmed officers. On the beach they found more relics from English seamen and then scaled the steep slopes to the cairn. As they dismantled it stone by stone and dug up the ground underneath, a polar bear was stalking the two men who remained on the beach. Panic stricken they struggled to launch the boat and then rowed frantically toward the steamer with the bear swimming behind. Fortunately for all the bear gave up and swam off into the pack.

Unfortunately, they did not find a message in the cairn.

Convinced that the relics were from a small travelling party, Ommanney continued westward towards Cape Hotham, leaving news of his find in a cairn at Cape Riley for the other search ships that followed. Soon ten vessels were assembled at Beechey Island — a meeting that gave rise to the name Union Bay — and their search parties were combing the tiny island for clues. Three of Franklin's crewmen, William Braine and John Hartnell from the *Erebus* and John Torrington from the *Terror*, had died between January and April of 1846, and were found buried on the desolate beach — conclusive proof that Franklin had spent the first winter at Beechey Island. They also found a forge and a carpenter's shop, a garden, a pair of cashmere gloves, five tent sites with the pegs still in the ground, great quantities of beef and pork bones and birds' bones, a piece of rope with a yellow Woolwich naval mark on it, and sledge tracks — but still no message from Franklin.

Elated by the discovery but confounded by the lack of any record indicating Franklin's intended route during the summer of 1846, the parties spread out from Beechey Island to continue their search during 1850-

51. Forsyth in the *Prince Albert* attempted to enter Prince Regent Inlet but was turned back by ice. He carried the first news of the finds back to England. Captain Austin and his crews in the *Resolute*, *Assistance*, *Pioneer*, and *Intrepid* overwintered between Cornwallis and Griffith islands and explored the coasts of Melville, Bathurst, and Prince of Wales islands in a series of remarkable sledge journeys. William Penny and his crews in the *Lady Franklin* and *Sophia* sailed northward and explored the shores of Wellington Channel. In a bay near the northwestern end of Cornwallis Island they found charred wood, which suggested that Franklin and his men might have travelled north and west after leaving Beechey Island. Sir John Ross wintered the Hudson's Bay Company sloop *Felix* and his own 12 ton yacht *Mary* in Assistance Bay beside Penny's ships. When he returned to Scotland the following summer he left the *Mary* at Beechey Island, hoping that she might assist either with the search for Franklin or the rescue of his crew. The American ships *Advance* and *Rescue* under Edwin De Haven were trapped in the pack ice of Lancaster Sound and carried into Baffin Bay, from whence they returned to New York the following summer. With these discoveries, Beechey Island became the focal point for subsequent Franklin search expeditions, a prominent rendezvous with a sheltered harbour in the poorly known Arctic.

In August 1852, a squadron of five ships crewed by 222 men under the command of Sir Edward Belcher anchored at Beechey Island. The day after he arrived Sir Edward, his assistant Captain Henry Kellett, and an official search party under Commander George Henry Richards searched the island for further traces of the Franklin expedition. They were so desperate for clues to Franklin's whereabouts that they dug up the building sites and the garden. They even opened the graves of his crewmen, only to close them again when they were found to be frozen solid.

We can only speculate how Franklin and his men spent that winter, but as you walk the white limestone beach and look about you it is hard to imagine a land more severe: just rock, ice, and sky. Even in August there is a cold bite to the winds that sweep Beechey Island and Erebus Bay is choked with pack ice. A lonely seal in the pack and pale glaucous gulls wheeling on distant updrafts are the only break to the monotony. Imagine the long, dark arctic winter.

Erebus and *Terror* may have wintered in Union Bay on the western side of Beechey Island, not in Erebus Bay. Drift lines of tarred oakum from the ships' seams, wood chips, a pile of preserved meat tins, the garden, and "wash-house" or "hospital" were all on the southern side of Union Bay. Only the forge and workshop were situated further away, in more sheltered spots.

In the fall the crews must have been busy preparing their ships for winter, cutting ice for fresh water and sheltering walls, piling snow against the ships' hulls for insulation, erecting canvas shelters over the decks, building the workshops, hunting for seals or fishing for cod along the nearby coasts, or raking dulce from the ocean for food. They would have strung ropes between the ships and buildings that they could follow to avoid losing their way in winter blizzards. In the winter, amateur theatrical productions, astronomical observations and projects in the workshops may have helped them to while away the time.

With the light and warmth of spring, Franklin's work parties must have explored the area by sledge, prepared the ships for the coming summer voyage, and planted a vegetable garden on the eastern slope of the ridge of Beechey Island. Its neat oval border was outlined with mosses, lichens, Arctic poppies, and anemones, transplanted from some "more genial part of this dreary region".

Recent climatic research indicates that the Franklin expedition and much of the subsequent search activity, took place during one of the least favourable climatic periods within the last 1,000 years. The summers were short, cold and cloudy, and the sea ice conditions were probably severe with no summer break-up of sea ice along parts of Franklin's route. At any rate, Franklin and his crew were probably very glad to leave Beechey Island and continue their explorations. They departed leaving a bag of coal, oakum, and the pair of cashmere gloves which may have been covered by a "midsummer" snowfall.

However, all may not have been well with them as Sir Edward Belcher feared when he wrote, "I cannot, painful as the conclusion is, divest myself of the feelings which were impressed on my mind on searching the so-called wash-house. The indelible features of catastrophe were there: painted canvas panels, moulding, oakum from the side-seams of a vessel (wide seams too), pill-boxes, surgeon's vials, rags, — all indicated a house of shelter or a hospital; moreover the internal inclination was falling to the centre, as if casks had formed the side barriers, and the sleepers had slept with their feet towards the common fire."

The Belcher expedition had a dual purpose. The principal one was to search Wellington Channel for traces of the Franklin expedition, and was undertaken by Sir Edward with the sailing ship *Assistance* and the 60 horsepower steam tender *Pioneer*. The secondary object was to deposit a supply depot at Winter Harbour on Melville Island, a task undertaken by Kellett with the *Intrepid* and the sailing ship *Resolute*. They departed leaving Commander W. J. S. Pullen in the depot ship *North Star* at Beechey Island.

While Sir Edward and his crews were exploring to the north and west, the steam sloop *Phoenix* and transport barque *Breadalbane* arrived at Beechey Island and began unloading supplies for the expedition and

D.B. Stewart

The mast of the yacht "Mary" stands starkly against the sky and the ice pack.

for a depot that was to be built there. Both ships were poorly designed for arctic travel. The *Phoenix* manoeuvered poorly in ice, she was long and her propellor screws were slow to remove; the *Breadalbane* had a hull "like brown paper" that ice would penetrate easily. The *Breadalbane* was nearly unloaded when they were beset by ice off the south shore of Beechey Island and, a little after four o'clock on the morning of Sunday, 21 August 1853, she was "nipped" by the ice and sank. Her 21-man crew, warned of the nip by the groaning of beams and creaking of bulkheads, escaped unprepared onto the ice — some with only the clothes they wore. As they watched helplessly, ice passed through her starboard bow and in less than 15 minutes she had sunk out of sight. Her crew was rescued by the *Phoenix* and a few hours later the only remaining vestige of her existence was a smashed longboat out in the pack.

Sir Edward and his men did not find Franklin, but they did contribute enormously to our knowledge of arctic geography by mapping large areas of the coastlines of Devon, Bathurst, Melville, Prince Patrick, Banks, and Victoria islands. Indeed, Kellett's men alone sledged 24,800 and mapped over 3,200 kilometres of new coastline — flying over that rugged, desolate area today you have to marvel at the magnitude of their accomplishments. They also found the HMS *Investigator* and rescued Commander Robert McClure and his starving crew who had sailed eastward from the Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea and spent the past two years trapped in the ice north of Banks Island. They spent the winter of 1853 on *Resolute* and *Intrepid*.

During June of 1854, Pullen's carpenters completed a supply depot in case Franklin or Captain Richard Collinson, who was missing in the western Arctic, visited Beechey Island. Wrecked whaling vessels, particularly the American whaler *McLellan*, which earlier got athwart the *North Star* and nearly wrecked her in Baffin Bay, supplied most of the materials to construct the 8 by 10 metre depot. It was built of wood and sheltered on the south and west sides by thick stone walls.

In 1854, with the *Assistance*, *Resolute*, *Pioneer* and *Intrepid* trapped in the ice and facing hardships of a fourth arctic winter Belcher ordered them abandoned and their crews assembled at Beechey Island. He had Pullen equip the depot as a comfortable residence and when he arrived there on 16 July, after an arduous gig and sledge trip, he formally opened it for use and named it Northumberland House in honour of the First Lord of the Admiralty. While the others sought out quarters aboard ship or camped in tents east of the house he had a hot bath indoors.

At Beechey Island Belcher erected a cenotaph to the memory of Lieutenant Bellot and the other mem-

bers of his and McClure's expeditions, and buried Able Seaman Thomas Morgan of the *North Star* beside Franklin's men. Today the cenotaph stands on the terrace overlooking Northumberland House, a few hundred metres from the graves with their weathered oak markers — mute testament to British perseverance.

On 20 September Belcher's entire expedition accompanied by McClure and his men embarked for England aboard the frigate *North Star*. She was standing off Beechey Island southward with 278 men aboard when Captain Edward Augustus Inglefield with the ships *Phoenix* and *Talbot* rounded Cape Riley. They were able to distribute the crews among the three vessels and sail safely to England.

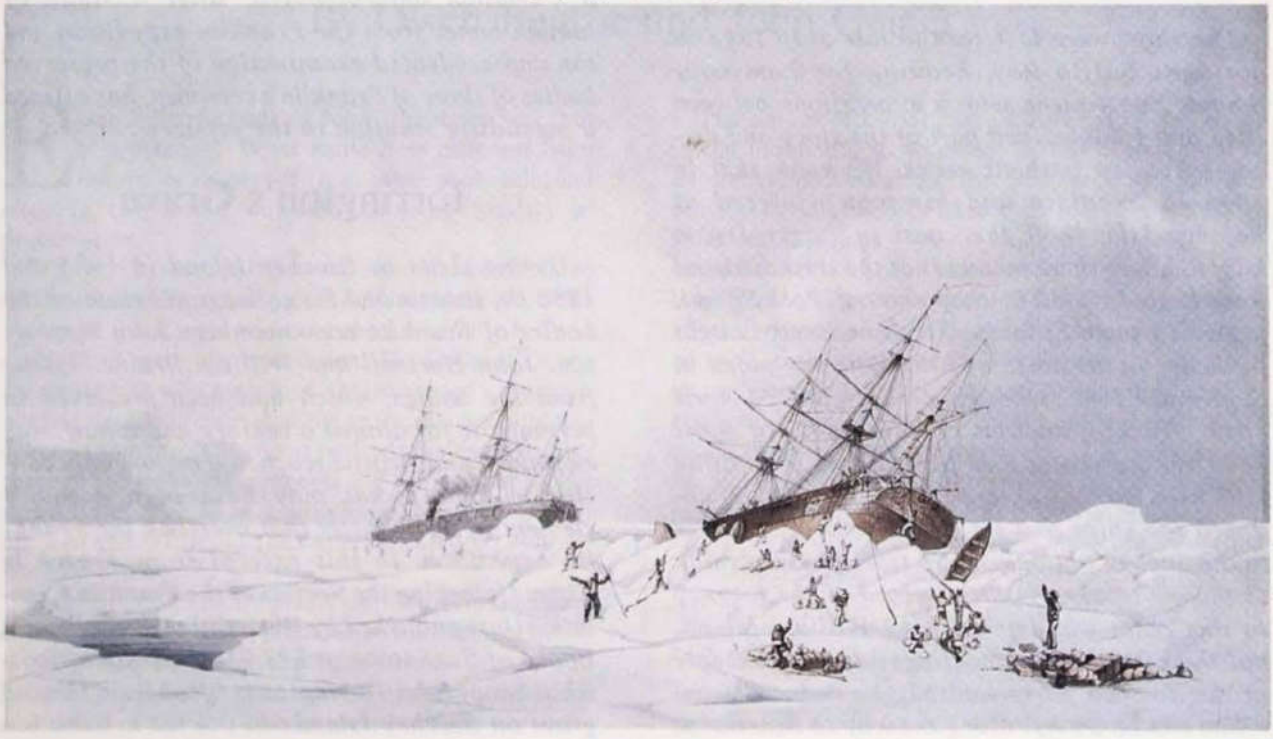
With Belcher's departure, Beechey Island had become a place of succour for arctic sailors. Northumberland House "was left sealed and complete with every kind of supply for sixty men for one year. Within, in a powder case, every necessary document and information was secured." Among the supplies that had been landed by the *North Star*, *Breadalbane*, *Phoenix* and *Talbot* were Welsh wigs and night caps for the officers, felt blankets, suits of sealskin clothing, a stove large enough to prepare daily meals for 100 men, sails, sledges, a mahogany lifeboat, and enormous quantities of food.

Since then, pilots, biologists, historians — the famous and the not so famous — have all been drawn to Beechey Island. Roald Amundsen of the *Gjoa* and Sergeant Henry Larsen of the *St. Roch* walked its shores on their voyages through the Northwest Passage. Low and Bernier visited on their expeditions to claim the Arctic Islands for Canada. In 1927, A.Y. Jackson sketched the weathered cliffs and left his name in the bottle, still pungent with whisky fumes after 17 years, that Bernier had used to protect the message he left at Beechey Island. Now there are hundreds of names in brass cylinders. The enormous oil tanker S.S. *Manhattan* and the smaller passenger ship *Lindblad Explorer* have passed its shores on their voyages through the Northwest Passage. The graves of two modern northerners, members of the Franklin Probe of 1974, Dr. M.F. Coffey and D.H. Fogg, lie overlooking Erebus Bay. And the lost *Breadalbane* has been found.

She rests upright, beautifully preserved beneath 100 metres of water, about 2,000 metres south of Beechey Island. After 140 years, her hull with its copper sheathing is still nearly intact, her compass still hangs in the small cabinet of her deckhouse, and two of her three masts are still standing. She is an historical time capsule that promises to yield a wealth of information to the research team headed by Dr. Joe MacInnis that has been studying her beneath the arctic ice.

With the many visitors, relics of the Franklin search have gradually disappeared and commemorative

The "Phoenix" and "Breadalbane" in peril on the ice shortly before the "Breadalbane" was crushed, from a colour lithograph by Edward Augustus Inglefield.



National Archives of Canada

plaques have sprung up like beans. Some of the relics have gone to good purpose, like the coal and sole leather that were used by Amundsen, others like the grave markers have been removed for preservation in museums and replaced by replicas — the rest have been vandalized or stolen by souvenir hunters. While Beechey Island is protected by statute under the Northwest Territories Act (Chapter N22, Section 13) and by the Federal Archaeological Regulations (SOR/60-31), it is not protected by Parks legislation nor is it a National Historic Site.

Today, the battered remnants of Northumberland House and the *Mary*, the mute grave markers, and the cenotaph to Belcher's men and Sir John Franklin give Beechey Island an atmosphere of eerie foreboding. As powerful reminders of the hardships and triumphs of exploration in the Canadian Arctic they should be protected and preserved.

Bruce Stewart is a biologist and writer who has worked and travelled widely in Northern Canada since 1976.

THE FATE OF FRANKLIN: PART TWO

The truth about what happened to Sir John Franklin's ill-fated third arctic expedition of 1845-1848 has been shrouded in mystery for close to a century and a half. Two lavishly equipped ships — the HMS "Terror" and the HMS "Erebus" — vanished without trace on a journey to chart the Northwest Passage. The entire company of 129 was swallowed up in the northern vastness of Canada.

The Mystery Deepens

The ships were last seen in late July 1845 in northern Baffin Bay, heading for Lancaster Sound. Subsequent search expeditions between 1847 and 1880 learned part of the story and discovered a few pathetic relics. We know that in 1845-46 Franklin and his men wintered at Beechey Island off the coast of larger Devon Island, where three members of the crew died and were buried. In 1846 they entered Peel Sound, passed through Franklin Strait and were caught in the ice to the north of King William Island in September 1846, remaining beset until 22 April 1848. Franklin died on 11 June 1847. In April 1848 the surviving members of the expedition (105 men led by Captain Francis Crozier) abandoned the ships and set out toward Back River in the hope of obtaining help from Hudson's Bay Company traders. A brief record of the journey to this point was left on King William Island, but the subsequent wanderings and eventual fate of the doomed party can only be deduced from relics and bones left along the way to Starvation Cove on Adelaide Peninsula where the last survivors appear to have perished in great want.

Dr. John Rae of the Hudson's Bay Company brought back the first news of the fate of the expedition after encountering Inuit who claimed to have met members of the party. The Inuit provided Rae with artifacts that belonged to expedition members. There was grim speculation about the last days of the Franklin men, including the dismal suggestion of cannibalism.

What went wrong? Various suggestions have been offered over the years. Now Owen Beattie, a Canadian anthropologist, after a study of human bones from the Franklin expedition and the unprecedented examination of the preserved bodies of three of Franklin's crewmen, has offered a persuasive solution to the mystery.

Torrington's Grave

During visits to Beechey Island in 1984 and 1986 Dr. Beattie and his colleagues exhumed the bodies of Franklin crew members John Torrington, John Hartnell and William Braine. Tissue from the bodies, which had been preserved in permafrost for almost a century and a half, was examined and Beattie reached a melancholy conclusion about what may have been a major element in the disaster that overtook the Franklin expedition. In this excerpt from **Frozen in Time: Unlocking the Secrets of the Franklin Expedition** *(just published by Western Producer Prairie Books of Saskatoon at $22.95) the body of British seaman John Torrington is lifted from its cold grave on Beechey Island.*

BOOK EXCERPT FROM

Frozen in Time

By Owen Beattie and John Geiger

Essentially the body of John Torrington was that of a mummy. What made it so different from mummies recovered from other archaeological sites in the world was the amazing quality of preservation.

When archaeologist Howard Carter opened the three coffins of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamen in the Valley of the Kings, he found the monarch's body in a very bad state of preservation. Dr. Douglas Derry, the anatomist who examined Tutankhamen's mummy, wrote a detailed report describing the charred and discoloured remains. The report outlined the damage done through the embalming process and through time: "the skin of the face is of a greyish colour and is very cracked and brittle . . . the limbs appeared very shrunken and attenuated".

Even mummies better preserved than Tutankhamen, whether embalmed as a preparation for burial or intentionally desiccated by exposure to sun or air, still suffered major alteration to the appearance, colour and detail of the soft tissues.

The nature of burial can, on rare occasions, result in the unintentional whole or partial preservation of an individual. Some of the best preserved human remains from antiquity have been found in peat bogs in several locations in north-western Europe. In some cases the acids of peat bogs have kept human bodies largely intact not for hundreds but for thousands of years. But those same acids badly discoloured the "bog people", as they were known, leaving skin "as if poured in tar" and hair bright red, and helping to decalcify the bones. Another natural means of preservation can result from cold temperatures and lack of moisture. In 1972, 500-year-old mummified human remains, including that of a child, were discovered at Qilakitsoq, Greenland. All of these mummies, however, were rigid and inflexible: the drying and hardening of the tissues having locked the body for ever into the position in which it was buried.

Undoubtedly the most amazing aspect of the Beechey Island research was the discovery of the near-perfect preservation of soft tissue. In effect, the unbroken period

of freezing from early 1846 suspended the major outward appearances of decay, allowing John Torrington to look very much as he had in life, right down to the flexibility of the tissue. Even when samples of Torrington's tissues were studied by microscope, some of them looked recent in origin. Other clues, though, reflected the lengthy period of freezing. Details of internal cellular structure were commonly missing, and in most tissues the cells were also partly collapsed. Preservation seemed to vary within the individual. For example, microscope slides made from bowel samples collected from Torrington appeared as if they were taken right out of a text book on modern human histology or pathology, while slides made from other organs showed considerable post-mortem change and loss of detail.

Labaratory results of the autopsy on John Torrington painted a picture of a young man wracked with serious medical problems. Unfortunately, despite careful study of the organ samples by Roger Amy at the University Hospital in Edmonton, a specific cause of death could not be established.

What was most obvious at the time of the autopsy were the blackened lungs, a condition called anthracosis caused by the inhalation of atmospheric pollutants such as tobacco and coal smoke and dust. Also, his lungs were bound to the chest wall by adhesions, a sign of previous lung disease. Microscopically visible destruction of lung tissue identified emphysema, a lung disease normally associated with much older individuals, and evidence of tuberculosis was also seen. Amy's interpretation of the adhesions, and of the presence of fluid in the lung associated with pneumonic infection, suggested to him that pneumonia was probably the ultimate cause of death.

Previous page: The Beechey Island graves, from a sketch by Dr. E.K. Kane. Below: The tinned wrought iron plaque nailed to the lid of John Torrington's coffin.

Owen Beattie

However, it was in the trace element analysis of bone and hair from Torrington that the probable underlying cause of death was found. Atomic absorption analysis of Torrington's bone indicated an elevated amount of lead of 110-151 parts per million (the modern average ranges from 5 to 14 parts per million). Although not as high as those found in [the bone of] the Franklin crewman from Booth Point [during an earlier expedition in 1981] the level of bone lead was still many times higher than normal. Torrington would have suffered severe mental and physical problems caused by lead poisoning and, so weakened, finally succumbed to pneumonia.

One theory as to why the Booth Point skeleton had greater lead contamination [228 parts per million] is that the Franklin sailor found in 1981 lived for over two years longer than John Torrington, thus was exposed to lead on the expedition for a longer period.

Most vital to Beattie's investigation were the results of a trace level analysis conducted on hair. Ten-centimetre-long strands of hair from the nape of Torrington's neck were submitted for laboratory analysis. The hair analysis could tell him if Torrington had been exposed to large amounts of lead. The hair was long enough to show levels of lead ingestion throughout the first eight months of the Franklin expedition. Beattie was astounded by the results of the carefully controlled test. Lead levels in the hair exceeded 600 parts per million, levels indicating acute lead poisoning. Only over the last few centimetres did the level of exposure drop, and then only slightly. This would have been due to a drop in the consumption of food during the last four to eight weeks of Torrington's life, when he was seriously ill.

By combining information gathered from the manner of Torrington's burial, the new information about his physical condition and illnesses, and period accounts of similar burial services conducted in the Arctic, it is possible to recreate his final days, death and burial with some accuracy.

There is no question that during the last couple of weeks of life, John Torrington would have known his time had almost come. Beattie's studies revealed that the petty officer's health had never been good, but in late December 1845, it was different. John Torrington was dying.

Right: First photograph of John Torrington taken moments after the wool coffin covering was pulled back.

Owen Beattie

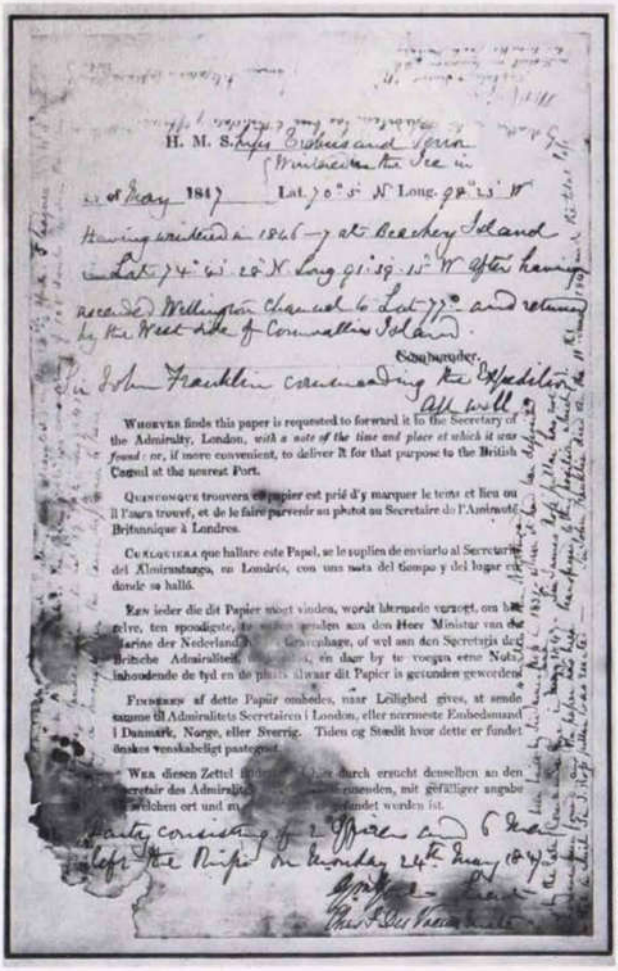
He had boarded the *Terror* eight months earlier, doubtless filled with high hopes. He must have been outwardly healthy when the expedition made its last contact with whaling vessels in late July and early August, or he would have been sent home. Indeed sickness seems to have struck in September, about the same time Franklin's two ships anchored for the winter a few hundred metres off the north-east section of Beechey Island.

It was a slow-moving and lingering illness. The early symptoms of the deadly combination of emphysema and tuberculosis with lead poisoning would have included loss of appetite, irritability, lack of concentration, shortness of breath, and fatigue. Torrington probably continued to work until mid to late November when he would have been sent to the sick bay. The lack of any bed sores on his body shows that during much of December, on the advice of the ship's physician, Torrington would have taken slow walks below decks several times a day. There he could talk with

Hudson's Bay Company

Sir John Franklin.

The only surviving document of the Franklin expedition, which was found in a cairn at Victory Point, King William Island, by McClintock's party.



H. M. S. Erebus and Terror
Wintering in the Ice in
of May 184 Lat. 70° 5' N Long. 98° 23' W
Having wintered in 1846 at Beechey Island
in Lat. 74° 43' 28" N Long. 91° 39' 15" W after having
passed Wellington Channel to Lat. 77° and returning
by the West side of Cornwallis Island.

Commander.
Sir John Franklin commanding the Expedition.
All well

Whoever finds this paper is requested to forward it to the Secretary of the Admiralty, London, *with a note of the time and place at which it was found*: or, if more convenient, to deliver it for that purpose to the British Consul at the nearest Port.

Quienesquiera trouvera ce papier est prié d'y marquer le tems et lieu ou il l'aura trouvé, et de le faire parvenir au plutot au Secretaire de l'Amirauté Britannique à Londres.

Cualquiera que hallare este Papel, se le suplica de enviarlo al Secretario del Almirantazgo, en Londres, con una nota del tiempo y del logar en donde se halló.

Een ieder die dit Papier mogt vinden, wordt hiermede verzogt, om het zelve, ten spoedigste, te zenden aan den Heer Minister van de Marine der Nederlanden, te 's Gravenhage, of wel aan den Secretaris der Britsche Admiraliteit, te London, en daar by te voegen eene Nota, inhoudende de tyd en de plaats alwaar dit Papier is gevonden geworden.

Finderen af dette Papir anbedes, naar Leilighed gives, at sende samme til Admiralitets Secretairen i London, eller nærmeste Embedsmand i Danmark, Norge, eller Sverrig. Tiden og Stædet hvor dette er fundet ønskes videnskabeligt paategnet.

Wer diesen Zettel findet, wird durch ersucht denselben an den Secretair des Admiralitäts [illegible] einzusenden, mit gefälliger angabe welchen ort und zu welcher zeit er gefunden worden ist.

Party consisting of 2 Officers and 6 Men
left the Ships on Monday 24th May 1847

Hudson's Bay Company

friends, and from time to time, before the illness became severe, look out through the gloom of the arctic winter at the barren, snowswept rock of Beechey Island.

Torrington's physical condition would have worsened dramatically over Christmas. His behaviour would have grown unpredictable, with dramatic mood swings that must have caused grave concern to surgeons Alexander Macdonald and John Peddie.

There is no way that these men, with the knowledge and equipment of their time, could have begun to discover the real nature of the illness. All they would have been able to do for Torrington through most of the course of his disease was keep him well-fed and comfortable. Yet despite their attention his weight would have continued slowly dropping to the point of malnutrition. Then, probably during the last days of 1845, he developed pneumonia, a serious blow considering his already diminished state of health. Torrington would never again look out into the arctic night.

Sometime in the days immediately preceding death, Torrington would have given his few possessions to someone who would promise to return them to his father and stepmother when the expedition had sailed through the Northwest Passage into the Bering Strait and then returned triumphantly to England. Towards the end, the twenty-year-old sailor would have fallen into a delerium, then suffered a series of convulsions before dying on New Year's Day.

News of the expedition's first loss must have spread quickly through the crew of the *Terror,* and the surgeon would have notified Captain Francis Crozier. Within minutes the men of the *Erebus,* including Franklin, would have been informed of John Torrington's death. The surgeons probably debated the cause, going over

Royal Ontario Museum

"The Fate of Sir John Franklin's Last Expedition", artist unknown. The skeletons of two men, two guns, a rowboat and some small articles were found on King William Island by McClintock's party.

the protracted and progressive nature of his disease before concluding it was pneumonia complicated by a history of tuberculosis. There was no call for an autopsy.

Torrington's body was carefully cleaned and groomed below decks where the temperature would probably have hovered continually around 10°C. It was 1 January, and his death surely cast a shadow on any New Year celebrations.

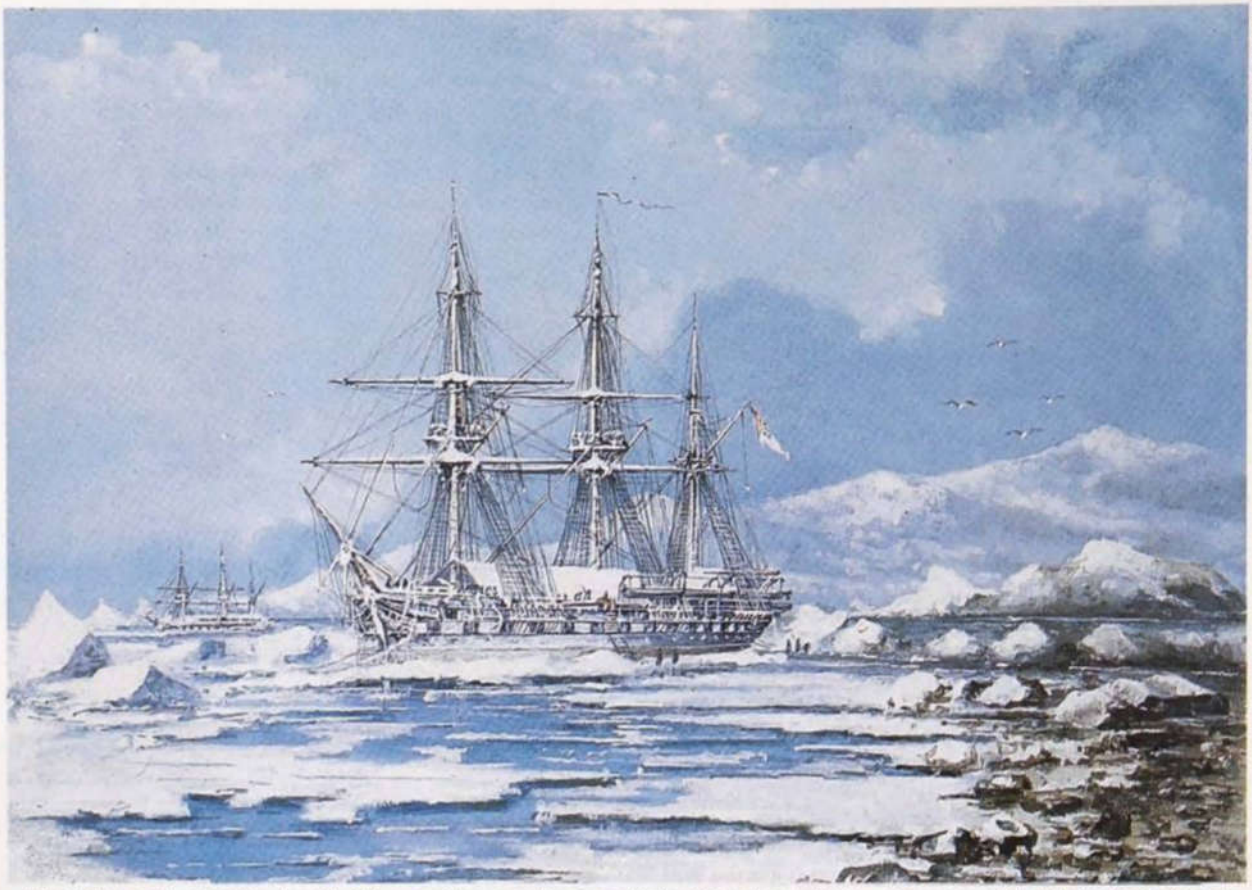
After Torrington's body was washed, he was dressed in his shirt and trousers. The two surgeons took care in binding his limbs to his body: one of them wrapped a cotton strip round the body and arms at the level of the elbow, tying a bow at the front; the other quickly tied cotton strips round the big toes, ankles, and thighs.

Above decks, where the ship had been draped with a canvas cover to keep out the snow and some of the cold (the temperature would still be around −10°C), the carpenter, Thomas Honey, and his mate Alexander Wilson began carefully constructing the coffin, Macdonald having provided them with Torrington's measurements. They used a stock timber, mahogany, measuring ¾ inch (1.9 cm) thick by 12 inches (30.5 cm) wide. The lid and coffin bottom were each constructed of three pieces: a long central piece with shaped sections attached by dowels to each side. The box was constructed of the same type of wood, and the curves at the shoulder were produced by kerfing (making a series of parallel cuts across the inside width of the board, allowing it to be bent without breaking). Square iron nails were used to secure all the sections together.

The coffin lid and box were carefully wrapped in navy blue wool material which was held in place by narrow, white cotton ribbons nailed to the coffin and outlining its contours. Torrington's messmates had taken great care in preparing the labelled metal plaque which was to be attached to the outside of the coffin lid. Another task of the carpenters, under the direction of one of *Terror*'s lieutenants, was the preparation of an inscribed headboard.

Carrying picks and shovels, a small group of seamen from the *Terror* then walked the few hundred metres from the ship to a location on the island just upslope from the armourer's forge.

They used their feet and shovels to sweep away a thin layer of snow from a small area of beach gravel. In the bitter cold, where the earth seemed like iron, they must have wondered about the seemingly back-breaking work they'd been assigned. But Franklin had ordered a proper burial, as close as circumstances would permit to that which John Torrington would have



Royal Ontario Museum

"First Winter in the Ice at Beechey Island", watercolour, gouache, pen and ink; artist unknown. This imaginary view of the "Erebus" and "Terror" beset at Beechey Island was published by Sir Francis Leopold McClintock in 1860.

John Torrington in death. The dark stain on his forehead and nose marks where his face came into contact with the blue wool coffin covering which was folded inside the coffin lid. A polka dot scarf binds his jaws. His limbs were bound with strips of white cotton.

Owen Beattie

received in his native Manchester. After perhaps a few brief words, several of the seamen grabbed a pickaxe each.

The digging would have been treacherous and difficult, illuminated only by lamp light. In the near darkness the pickaxes would have sent up showers of sparks as they struck against the icy earth. As the sailors took turns to hack at the ground in the deepening grave, they finally reached a depth of 1.45 metres.

Preparations for the burial of John Torrington would have taken a day or two, but finally the small, slender coffin was lowered on ropes over the ship's side down to the ice a few metres below. It was probably then secured to a small sledge and no doubt draped with a flag.

A party of seamen picked up the ropes secured to the front of the sledge and began to drag it slowly over the ice and snow towards the grave site. If Beattie's own experience of King William Island was any indication, it must have been a tortuous trail, with small hummocks of ice preventing them from dragging the coffin in a straight line. Instead, they would have had to zigzag towards the shore.

A small procession would have followed, probably made up of Torrington's messmates and friends from the *Terror,* and led by Sir John Franklin, Captain Francis Crozier, Commander James Fitzjames, and some of the *Terror*'s officers.

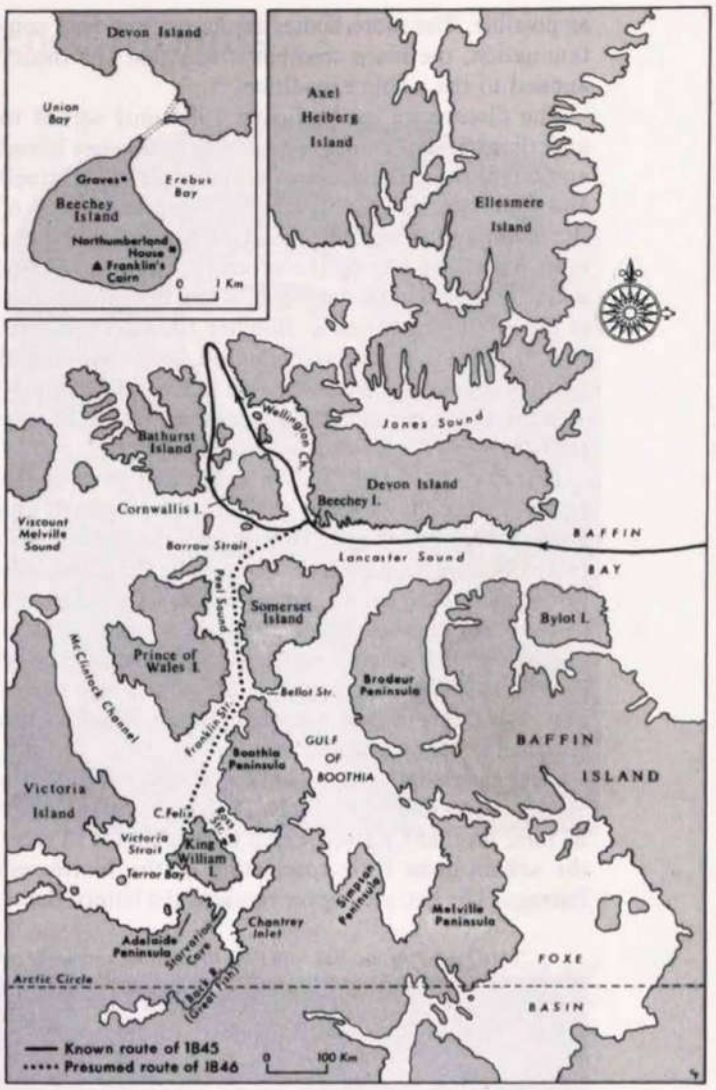
Someone carried the wooden headboard, a monument not only to Torrington but in the event to the whole expedition.

A layer of snow found on the coffin lid by Beattie and his team shows that a light snow was falling that day early in January 1846. The men who stayed on the ships probably watched as, man by man, the procession was swallowed by the snow. Soon all that could have been seen were the lamps, flickering and swaying like fireflies around the shadows of the invisible party. Then they too disappeared.

Franklin probably presided at the burial. He was a deeply religious man who, eight months earlier, had asked the British Admiralty to furnish one hundred Bibles, prayer books and testaments for sale at cost aboard the ships.

The snow, a spiralling yellow curtain in the lamp light, swirled around the group standing at the graveside. Some sifted and settled into the grave, obscuring the last view of Torrington's coffin. Each breath of Franklin's would have been made visible by the gripping cold, the sound of his voice blending with the icy, penetrating wind that always seems to blow at Beechey Island.

His words were probably brief, but presented with an obvious reverence and sincerity. Quickly, the ceremony was over, and thoughts turned away from the young man who just months before at Woolwich, near



London, had joined Franklin's carefully selected crew a relatively healthy man.

In many ways Torrington's was an uneventful death, yet the confirmation of high lead levels in his body was of great significance in the context of the entire expedition. Beattie had stepped beyond the conventional theories about the expedition's end.

It seemed clear that the startling proof of lead poisoning in Torrington, coupled with the results from the Booth Point skeleton, demonstrated that lead had played an important if not pivotal role in the Franklin disaster. Lost was the romanticized and safe version of scurvy and starvation alone carrying off the expedition. The medical findings from Torrington opened the door on a whole new way of looking at this and other nineteenth-century expeditions. But such a radical new theory about the underlying cause of the destruction of one of history's great voyages of discovery needed to be backed up by as much evidence

as possible. The more bodies demonstrating lead contamination, the more credible it was that the theory applied to the whole expedition.

The discoveries made during 1984 only served to underline the importance of returning to Beechey Island and establishing the cause of death of [John] Hartnell and [William] Braine. Besides, an important part of the investigation was also to establish what conditions must have been like on the expedition during 1845-6, and to reconstruct the last months and days in the lives of the three men buried at Beechey Island. Their bodies provided an unprecedented and privileged opportunity to look into British and Canadian history — a three-dimensional history, represented by the only true "survivors" of Franklin's expedition.

After the 1984 field season ended and news of the preservation of John Torrington and John Hartnell was announced, two indirect descendants of Hartnell contacted Beattie. Donald Bray of Croydon, England, was astonished to see coverage of Beattie's expedition and to hear the name of his ancestor mentioned. Bray, a retired sub-postmaster, had devoted years to tracing his family history and was in possession of rare letters and documents which added haunting insights into Hartnell's family and life.

Most touching were two letters to John and Thomas Hartnell, one sent by their mother Sarah and the other by their brother Charles, which were intended to greet the sailors upon their completion of the Northwest Passage. The two men never received the letters, dated 23 December 1847. John Hartnell had already been dead for nearly two years and Thomas's death probably came the following summer on King William Island.

"My Dear Children," Sarah Hartnell's letter began, "It is a great pleasure to me to have a chance to write you. I hope you are both well. I assure you I have many anxious moments about you but I endeavour to cast my prayers on Him who is too good to be unkind". After a reference to her own illness and other news about family and friends, the letter ended: "If it is the Lord's will may we be spared to meet on earth. If not God grant we may all meet around His throne to praise Him to all eternity". Perhaps Sarah knew, as parents sometimes do, that her sons were facing their deaths.

Another descendant of John Hartnell would, along with three other specialists, join Beattie's scientific team when he returned to the field in 1986. Brian Spenceley, a professor at Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ontario, and a great-great-nephew of Hartnell, would soon be able to experience that which no other man has, to look into the eyes of a relative who has been dead for more than a century.

Owen Beattie is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Alberta, where he is conducting a long-term investigation into the effects of diet and environment on the health of nineteenth century European explorers.

John Geiger studied history at the University of Alberta and is now a writer with the "Edmonton Journal".

"They forged the last link with their lives", from a romantic oil painting of the remnant of the Franklin expedition by W.T. Smith, 1895.

National Maritime Museum

The Grim Evidence Mounts

Frozen tissue, hair and bone samples from John Hartnell and William Braine added further weight to the theory that lead poisoning had contributed greatly to the failure of the Franklin expedition. Hair from Hartnell yielded lead levels ranging from 138 to 313 parts per million. Hair from Braine yielded levels from 145 to 280 parts per million.

"Although not as high as the lead levels measured in Torrington," the authors write, "they exceeded a contemporary hair standard by well over twenty times. Subsequent testing eliminated the possibility of external twentieth-century contamination, and further tests on bone and tissue from Torrington, Hartnell and Braine underscored the accuracy of the hair results."

Possible sources of lead on the expedition were numerous and included tea wrapped in lead foil, pewterware and lead-glazed pottery vessels. "But," write the authors, "it was the reliance of Franklin's expedition on tinned food that was the root cause. It has been calculated that each sailor would have been allotted about half a pound (¼kg) of tinned food every second day, resulting in regular and considerable ingestion of lead".

Captain Francis Crozier.

The Mind's Despair

The contract for tinned preserved food was given to an inexperienced but low bidder, Stephan Goldner, on 1 April 1845. It was a rush order and the solder on Goldner's cans (90 per cent lead, 10 per cent tin) appears to have been shoddily applied (rusting tins from the Goldner provisions can still be found at sites along Franklin's route). The sloppy soldering work would prove to be highly dangerous to members of the Franklin expedition, contaminating the food and poisoning those who ate it.

"What is very clear from the findings," the authors write, ". . . is that lead played an important role in the declining health of the entire crews of the "Erebus" and *"Terror", not only in the loss of physical energy but increasingly in the mind's despair. Loss of appetite, fatigue, weakness and colic are some of the physical symptoms of lead poisoning; it can also cause disturbances of the central and peripheral nervous systems, producing neurotic and erratic behaviour and paralysis of the limbs. It is the effects on the mind that may have been of greatest importance in isolating the impact of lead on the expedition. Under the continuing and prolonged stressful conditions of long periods in the Arctic, even very subtle effects of low lead exposure could have had a significant impact on the decision-making processes of the men, particularly the officers [who, because of their rank, had been given a larger amount of the tinned provisions]. Only clear minds in control of situations can hope to make correct decisions."*

A Death March

The discovery of lead poisoning as a major factor in the failure of the Franklin expedition adds a new element of horror to one of the most haunting disasters in Canadian history. A fresh poignancy has been added to our vision of that sad remnant of Franklin's crew plodding on toward death in the terrible loneliness of Starvation Cove. ♦

The Prayer Man

Ojibwa Henry Bird Steinhauer Brought Religion to the Cree

By Gayle Simonson

"Once I accompanied the White Fish Lake Indians to join another party of Crees in a buffalo hunt. . . . The Sabbath came with its many pleasing associations; a cloudless sky overhead, the plain covered with green, variegated with flowers of various hues, embalming the air; not a breath of wind to disturb the repose of this day that must be kept holy. . . . After singing and praying, we were about finishing the Lord's prayer, when a cry was heard from the outward watch, placed there by our warrior chief, Nuske-pe-toon. "The Blackfeet are coming! The Blackfeet are coming!" As soon as the amen of the prayer was pronounced, every man to his feet! Every man to his arms! Onward, onward came the enemy and on and on went our men to meet them. The discharge of a hundred guns disturbed the stillness of the blessed day. I stood looking on."

— Henry Bird Steinhauer

The life of an early missionary in Western Canada was one, not only of piety, but also of adventure. Among the teachers of "the white man's religion", the names of Rundle, McDougall, and Lacombe are well known. Yet the man who introduced agricultural practices to the Cree of Alberta, the man who translated much of the Bible into Cree syllabics, and the man who established the first Indian settlement and school west of Red River, is virtually unknown. That man was the Reverend Henry Bird Steinhauer.

In the mid-nineteenth century, a missionary was not only a spiritual leader, but also teacher, builder, hunter, and farmer. Later, political skills were required as well. Steinhauer handled them all.

Steinhauer's original name was Shahwanegezhick. He was an Ojibwa Indian, born in Ontario about 1816. His exposure to Christianity probably began about the age of ten, as the Methodists sought to convert Indians of the Lake Simcoe area and surrounding districts. He was one of 132 natives baptized at Holland Landing, 17 June 1828 by the Rev. William Case and Peter Jones. He subsequently attended the mission school at Grape Island (six miles from Belleville), where pupils were taught a wide variety of trades, in addition to academic subjects, British loyalty, and Methodist Christianity.

At that time, funding for schools came from philanthropists and missionary societies. The Indian boy was renamed Henry Steinhauer, to honour a Philadelphia minister, but he did retain the name Bird, which is believed to be a translation of his Indian nickname.

Rev. Case took a special interest in young Steinhauer, and included him among a group of seven young natives who were taken on a fund-raising tour in the

United States early in 1829. On this tour, the young people were exhibited as "specimen trophies of the victories won by Methodism". While in Philadelphia, Steinhauer had a portrait painted by artist John Neagle. The picture, entitled "Sketch from Nature", is now part of the collection at Calgary's Glenbow Museum.

Steinhauer's intelligence and his commitment to Christianity were recognized by the leaders of the church, and he was given many educational opportunities. Yet his was not a blind devotion. He recognized the value of acknowledging the Indian heritage, and during this period, in a letter to missionary Benjamin Slight, he drew parallels between the Indian beliefs of his grandfather and the stories learned at the mission school. His registration at New York's Cazenovia Seminary (1832-1834) included his Indian name. Later, at Upper Canada in 1836, his attempts to establish a debating society to explore topical issues of the day were stifled by the principal, Rev. Matthew Richey.

While at college, Steinhauer excelled in languages, particularly Greek and Hebrew. His son Robert wrote many years later that his father "prepared all his sermons from the original Greek, translating with grammatical analysis, passages of scripture as part of his sermon preparation".

Steinhauer taught at the Credit Mission, 1834-36 at the time when the missionary there was William Case. As the teacher at Alderville, 1838-1840, he worked again with the Rev. Case.

At this time, the movement of the Lake Simcoe band, including Steinhauer's mother, from a large established reserve at Coldwater Narrows to a less productive area near Rama, probably helped to shape treaty discussions in the West many years later, when Steinhauer acted as advisor to Chief Pakan.

An invitation from the Hudson's Bay Company to the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to "minister to the religious and educational needs of the Indians in the Hudson Bay Territories" resulted in the appointment, in 1840, of James Evans as General Superintendant of the Wesleyan Missions in the Hudson's Bay Territories. Three British missionaries, George Barnley, William Mason, and Robert Terrill Rundle, arrived in Montreal in early spring. Evans also asked natives Peter Jacobs and Henry Steinhauer to accompany him west.

Evans journeyed to Norway House, but Mason and Steinhauer were stationed at Lac la Pluie. They managed to open a small school, and Steinhauer worked at translating the liturgy into Ojibwa, but efforts to convert the natives failed. Mason was transferred to Norway House in 1843, and Steinhauer followed the next year. Evans requested that he take charge of the nearby Rossville School. There, his first task was to learn the language of the Swampy Cree.

Collection of the Glenbow Museum

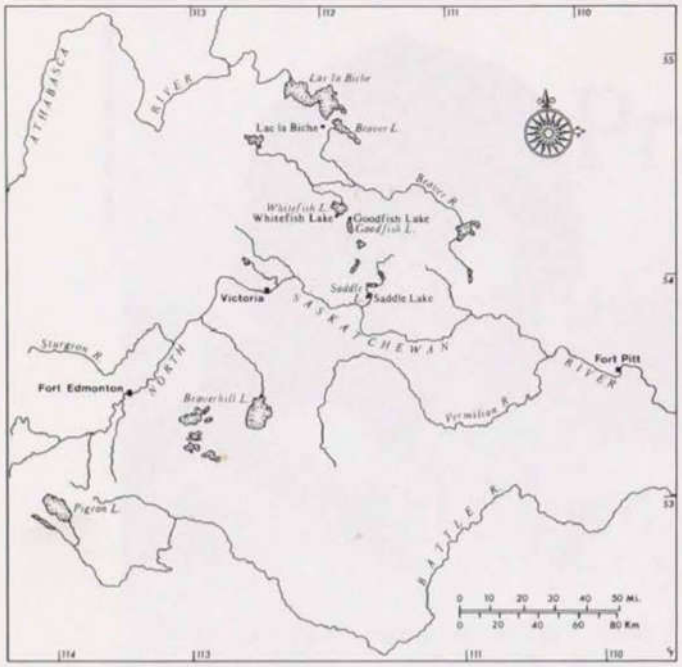
John Neagle, portrait of Henry Bird Steinhauer, 1829, oil on canvas.

The Indians of that area had been associated with Europeans for many years, and were much more willing to accept instruction from the missionaries. The establishment of gardens was a high priority, and met with considerable success. The year Steinhauer arrived, over 1,000 pounds of potatoes had been harvested, and much of the crop was distributed to other Company forts and settlements.

One of Steinhauer's major accomplishments at Rossville was the translation of major portions of scripture into Cree syllabics, recently developed by James Evans. According to Dr. Alexander Sutherland, of the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Steinhauer translated from Psalms to the end of the Old Testament, and from Romans to the end of the New. His knowledge of classical languages proved very valuable in this work, which continued even after Rev. Evans was recalled to England in 1846.

Not all Steinhauer's time was devoted to his work. In August of 1846, Chief Factor Donald Ross of Norway House signed a licence allowing Steinhauer and Jessie Mamanuwartum, a Cree girl from the area, to "have their marriage solemnized by an ordained minister". Their first child, born the following year, died within six months of influenza.

In 1850 Steinhauer was sent to establish a new mission at Oxford House, the Hudson's Bay Company post on the Hayes River between York Factory and Norway House. Company officials had promised to help main-



tain a mission there, and to provide seed and implements to encourage some agriculture. Unfortunately, the site they selected was twelve miles from the fort, in an area with poor soil and depleted animal resources. Steinhauer was posted as missionary, but because he was not ordained, he could not perform baptisms, solemnize marriages, or celebrate holy communion.

Steinhauer spent the winter of 1850-51 at the new mission site. It was a trying period of isolation and near-starvation. In spring, he requested seed potatoes from the fort, so that he could get on with his work. Eventually, seven families settled near the mission, so he instructed a day school of twenty children, and an evening adult class to teach Cree syllabics. An improvement in the fish supply meant the second winter was not as desperate as the first.

In 1852, the British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the Canadian Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists began to discuss the transfer of jurisdiction over HBC territory. John Ryerson and Peter Jacobs toured missions in the area. Jacobs recommended that Steinhauer was ready for ordination.

The winter of 1852-53 was again one of serious deprivation. Steinhauer wrote to Mason that "I hope some of us at least will be permitted to see the spring". Schoolteacher John Taylor, who also spent that winter at Oxford House, wrote to a friend of the incredible loneliness. With Taylor's recall to Rossville in the spring, Steinhauer had had enough. He determined to return home to Canada. Peter Jacobs, who had remained in the North, convinced him to persevere for one more winter.

The transfer of responsibility for missions to the Canadian Conference was completed by January 1854. The following summer, Steinhauer returned to Rossville. Leaving his family there with friends he and John Ryerson travelled to York Factory. There on 18 September they boarded the HBC ship *Prince of Wales* for passage to England. Despite a turbulent voyage they docked on 24 October. For six weeks, they addressed missionary society meetings, discussing work in the West. On 9 December they left Liverpool aboard the steamship *America,* bound for Boston. On his return through Canada, Steinhauer renewed acquaintance with his early benefactor, William Case, who was, that year, celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of his entry into the ministry. It was a momentous year for Steinhauer, as well, for at the Canadian Conference ordination in June, he was finally ordained.

He and missionary Thomas Woolsey, an Englishman, were posted to the far West. On their journey westward they stopped briefly at Red River where they were hospitably entertained by the Rev. John Black. They also received an Episcopal blessing from Anglican Bishop David Anderson.

Upon his arrival at Norway House Steinhauer was delighted to find his wife and their four children happy and healthy after a year's separation.

Because the Canadian Conference had more experience with Indian missions than the British Missionary Society had had, and because it already had ordained native ministers, the relationship between the missions and the HBC changed with the change in administration. While the co-operation of the HBC was still important in many areas, the missions became much more independent.

Steinhauer's first posting, in 1855, was to Lac la Biche. There he joined Ben Sinclair and family, who had been alone in trying to continue Rundle's work on the Western prairie. At the same time, Woolsey moved to Fort Edmonton. The following spring, Steinhauer and Woolsey, with a band of Crees from Lac la Biche, joined a Plains Cree camp, where they were welcomed by Maskepetoon, one of Rundle's converts. Steinhauer and Woolsey then travelled to Pigeon Lake, where Woolsey was to re-establish Rundle's mission.

Although the Lac la Biche area was safe from Blackfoot attack, the strong Roman Catholic influence there, coupled with the distance to the plains buffalo, convinced Steinhauer and Sinclair to move their group south to Whitefish Lake. As Steinhauer recalled it later, the beginning at Whitefish was hardly an auspicious occasion:

> When we pitched our tent on the shore of Whitefish Lake, it was a day of small things. Our party small, only two wigwams; the inmates of them the extent

of our first congregation. Our enemies prophesied certain failure of the undertaking. What can an Indian do with Indians to make prayer men and women of them?

Steinhauer's doubts were not unfounded. Explorer Henry Youle Hind, who journeyed through the Saskatchewan district at that time, wrote that "It is a wrong policy to send a Swampy Cree among the plains Crees, or an Ojibway amongst the Crees, as a teacher and minister of religion. . . . They will never acknowledge or respect them as teachers of the 'white man's religion' ". Hind was perhaps referring to the Ojibwa Steinhauer, whose wife Jessie, and partner, Ben Sinclair, were both Swampy Crees. He was, however, wrong in his predictions, for the dedication of Steinhauer's "party small" eventually overcame such doubts and prejudices.

At their chosen site, the highest bench above the lake was chosen for the church. Log homes and gardens were to be established on the lower sections. None of it came easily, for the Indians were a nomadic people, with no building or agricultural skills or tools. Ingenuity prevailed. Windows for the homes were made of rawhide, stretched to parchment thinness. Crude fireplaces were fashioned out of clay and twigs. The first hoes were shaped from tree trunks, then hardened over fire.

Food production was essential, if settlement was to persist. The small areas broken with crude hoes were planted with potatoes and turnips. The acquisition of a plow should have made things easier, but there were no oxen, and the Indian ponies were less than co-operative. Finally, twelve men were hitched to the plow. The half-acre broken in this manner was sown with barley.

Steinhauer did not remain aloof from the settlement, but entered into the life of the community, working alongside the others, and accompanying them in their travels in search of buffalo. He respected their traditions, continuing to draw parallels between their legends and some of the Old Testament stories. According to interpreter Peter Erasmus, he also drew parallels between the nomadic Cree and the early Jews — wandering tribes who lived in tents, and tended their animals. Despite this, he believed that they must adopt a more European lifestyle. Steinhauer was particularly concerned with the women's style of dress, as it came barely past the knee, and was worn sleeveless in warm weather. Steinhauer was grateful for the boxes of clothing shipped to him by some of the ladies he had met in England. As well, his wife Jessie had learned many European traditions at Norway House. She taught the native women to knit, and to make European-style clothing.

The settlement soon boasted a mission and schoolhouse, as well as private homes, each with its own garden. The community had to be self-sufficient. Mail came once a year via the HBC packet. The nearest doctor was in Fort Garry, and there was no dentist available. For the first few years, the HBC would bring supplies from Fort Garry to Fort Edmonton for the mission, but after that, a year's supply of such staples as flour had to be purchased at Fort Garry and transported back by a party from the mission.

Henry Bird Steinhauer.

Devotions were an integral part of life. Even on the buffalo hunt, daily prayer services were held, as well as four services and adult Bible study on Sundays. The celebrations of the "love-feast" with the sacrament of communion were emotional events in which individuals gave testimony of God's effect in their lives.

As Steinhauer travelled with the buffalo hunt, he continued the itinerant Methodist tradition. He also visited a small group of Methodists at Lac la Biche once or twice per month. Some years later, a second settlement at Goodfish Lake was added to his charge.

Steinhauer had always believed in the value of education, but his concern for schooling grew as his own children's education became of greater importance. In 1860 his oldest daughter Abigail, then 13, began helping with the school. In that year also, Rev. George McDougall was appointed superintendant of missions in the Saskatchewan district. He was stationed at Norway House and did not tour the district until 1862.

A Western group on tour in Eastern Canada, 1886. Left to right: Rev. John McDougall, Samson, Pakan, Rev. Robert Steinhauer and Jonas Goodstoney.

His son John accompanied him on that trip. John did not return to Norway House with his father. Instead, he remained with Thomas Woolsey to establish a new mission at Victoria (now Pakan, in Alberta). That winter Abigail and her sister Eliza spent several months at Victoria to receive further education from Mr. Woolsey. The whole McDougall family arrived the following summer. Perhaps in order to make the church a stronger influence in the development of the West, George McDougall moved the headquarters for Methodist missions to Victoria.

Ties between the two families grew stronger as romance blossomed between John McDougall and Abigail. The following year, the two were married in the chapel at Whitefish Lake by George McDougall.

Political events were beginning to affect the Indian population. By 1869, the Hudson's Bay Company was preparing to transfer its control over Rupert's Land to the Canadian government. McDougall believed that "the rights of the Indian must command the most thoughtful consideration of a Christian government", and so the missionaries became involved.

That summer, the missionaries and HBC officers gathered the Indians together at Victoria to explain the changes proposed, and the treaty negotiations which would follow. It was, however, a tribal conflict, not a political problem which was of immediate concern.

Following the murder of Maskepetoon by the Blackfoot, the threat of tribal war caused Steinhauer and the local residents to scatter into the woods. The isolation resulting from this move proved providential, for it allowed that community to escape the ravages of smallpox, which decimated other tribes over the next few months. The McDougalls were not so fortunate. Although George recovered, daughters Florrie and Georgiana died. Then, when the epidemic was considered over, in the spring of 1871, both families were affected by the death of Abigail.

1871 was a busy year in a political sense. A council meeting of Whitefish Indians resulted in a petition to Lieutenant-Governor Adams Archibald, dated 9 January and signed by male members of the band, including Arthur, Egerton and Henry Steinhauer, as well as Peter Erasmus, who had joined the band after a dispute at Victoria with George McDougall. The petition expressed a trust in British justice, but it was a clear call for recognition of Indian title to the land. Chief Pakan determined to visit Archibald to discuss in person this and other matters affecting the future of his people.

Steinhauer also became a member of the newly-formed Saskatchewan District Board of Health. To curb chances of further spread of disease, trade restrictions and travel certificates were implemented. As well, a request was submitted for a district health officer.

In spite of the many problems which were besetting the West, Steinhauer's school was doing well. William Christie, chief factor at Fort Edmonton, and William Hardisty were among a group of HBC officials who visited the school in February 1871. They were so impressed that they donated a number of prizes to the pupils.

In 1873 Steinhauer was transferred to the Woodville Mission at Pigeon Lake. His family remained at Whitefish. Peter Campbell had written of Woodville that the church was "not fit to hold service in, being little more than half-roofed". As for the cabin, "the roof allows the rain and melted snow to run through in streams". Perhaps, at 57 years of age, Steinhauer was not anxious to begin again.

He returned home the following year to find that, during his absence, the Whitefish settlement had begun to disintegrate. However, his return, coupled with the arrival of a dedicated new school teacher, Miss Elizabeth Barrett, revived the community.

Believing that the children would learn best in their own language, Miss Barrett set to work to learn Cree vocabulary and the Cree syllabic system. She and

Steinhauer worked together to obtain government funding, so that in May of 1876 their school became the first Protestant Indian school in the Saskatchewan district to receive a government subsidy. She also took a special interest in the education of Steinhauer's sons, Egerton and Robert, as their father wanted them to enter the ministry.

Steinhauer had stressed to the Missionary Society the importance of training native ministers and missionaries. In his report of 1875, he declared "there is always mistrust on the part of a native to the foreigner, from the fact that the native has been so long downtrodden by the white man". Yet his words went largely unheeded. When his own sons entered college to prepare for the ministry, they received little support from the Missionary Society. Egerton was forced to return West. There he established a school at Goodfish Lake, struggling on his own to complete the course of studies which had been prescribed by his teachers at Victoria College in Ontario.

Treaty negotiations dragged on. Steinhauer had seen the process in the East. Peter Erasmus who had grown up in the Red River Settlement and had at one time considered entering the Anglican ministry, was also well-educated. Both acted as advisors to Pakan, so that his tribe, more than most, had knowledge of the process. Of all the chiefs, only Pakan set his expectations on paper, with specific boundaries in mind.

Pakan attended the meetings at Fort Pitt in September 1876. Although he believed he had been promised a much larger area as a general reserve, Treaty Six, as signed, allowed no more than one square mile for each family of five. The boundaries became an issue some years later when surveyors were sent West.

In 1880, Rev. Alexander Sutherland, General Secretary of the Missionary Society, toured the West. Steinhauer accompanied him on his return East. This was Steinhauer's first trip to Ontario since his ordination sixteen years earlier. He undertook a year-long speaking and fund-raising tour, addressing large audiences throughout all of Eastern Canada. As well, his reminiscences of the "Beginning at Whitefish Lake" were published in *Missionary Outlook*. Such an undertaking emphasizes the adaptability of this remarkable man, for his ability to relate well to a wide variety of audiences made him something of a celebrity in the East.

Steinhauer recorded that as he approached home in October 1881 no living soul could be seen at Goodfish Lake Flat. However, as he approached Whitefish, he rejoiced to hear the sounds of worship issuing from his little church. During his absence, James A. Youmans and his wife had arrived to teach school, while Ben Sinclair and John Hunter had continued the mission work. This time, all had gone well.

Although Treaty Six contained a clause promising agricultural supplies, as well as rations in the event of a famine, many natives were near starvation the following winter because of the scarcity of buffalo. Little government help was required at Whitefish Lake, where agricultural skills were well-established. Nearby, at Saddle Lake, despite the presence of a government farming agent, the situation was desperate. An *Edmonton Bulletin* report at the time declared "An Indian outbreak, if one occurs, will be entirely caused by the present mismanagement of affairs under Commissioner [Edgar] Dewdney and the local man. Golden promises will not keep hunger and cold from a red skin any more than a white one".

More problems erupted in 1884. Pakan participated in meetings with Big Bear, as both chiefs felt that their people were being treated unfairly. Pakan wanted Steinhauer to accompany him to Ottawa, but John McDougall, who had succeeded his father as head of missions, refused permission.

Steinhauer did, however, travel in June to Brandon, Manitoba, for the district conference. At this meeting, he saw a dream fulfilled for his son Egerton was one of the candidates presented for the ministry.

Shortly after his return home, more trouble erupted. Government surveyors appeared on the reserve. Pakan, Steinhauer, and Youmans considered them trespassers, so an agreement had to be negotiated with the Indian commissioner.

An outbreak of influenza in December of that year claimed Steinhauer as its victim. He preached his last sermon on 14 December, conducting two services, then taking the time to visit the sick. He died on 30 December. Within thirty-six hours, Ben Sinclair had also succumbed. The long-time friends and co-workers were buried in a single grave on New Year's Day 1885.

Pakan did not lead his people into the uprising which occurred later that year. In explaining why he had chosen peace, he said simply: "I owe a great debt to my old missionary who recently left us, Mr. Steinhauer". ♦

Gayle Simonson is an Edmonton writer. *She would like to acknowledge the assistance of the staff of the Provincial Archives of Alberta, and also the work of Isaac Mabindisa, whose thesis "The Praying Man: Henry Bird Steinhauer", contains extensive research on this subject.*

Readers may be interested to learn that Ralph Steinhauer, a great grandson of Henry Bird Steinhauer, served as Lieutenant Governor of Alberta from 1974 to 1979.

Treasure Hunters in the Cordillera

Into the Uncharted Wilderness With the Geological Survey of Canada

By HUGH HANSEN-McINTYRE

With the completion of Confederation from coast to coast in 1871, the Canadian Cordillera — a great sweep of knife-edged peaks, sprawling glaciers, and densely forested valleys — remained an unknown hinterland separating Canada from its newest province of British Columbia. Only the Cariboo gold rush of the 1850s had suggested there might be untold riches hidden beneath the jumbled rock of the Cordillera.

The terms of union included a specific promise by the federal government in Ottawa to survey the potential mineral resources of B.C.'s unknown interior. As well, another major federal obligation, the rail line "from sea to sea", was already being surveyed, and reports on the rock types and terrain along its route were urgently required.

An agency to undertake these tasks already existed. The Geological Survey of Canada, founded in Montreal in 1842, was originally a mission-oriented body funded by government for five years at a time (initially, with the sum of 750 pounds per annum) constituted by Act of Parliament to survey "the Rocks, Soils, and Minerals" of the newly-united "Province of Canada" (Quebec and Ontario) for the purpose of "ascertaining the Mineral Resources thereof". At least the outline of this task had been achieved with the publication of founding director Sir William Logan's *Geology of Canada* in 1862, but the tenfold expansion of Canada's territory in 1867 ensured the Survey's continued existence. It became a permanent branch of the Department of the Interior in 1877.

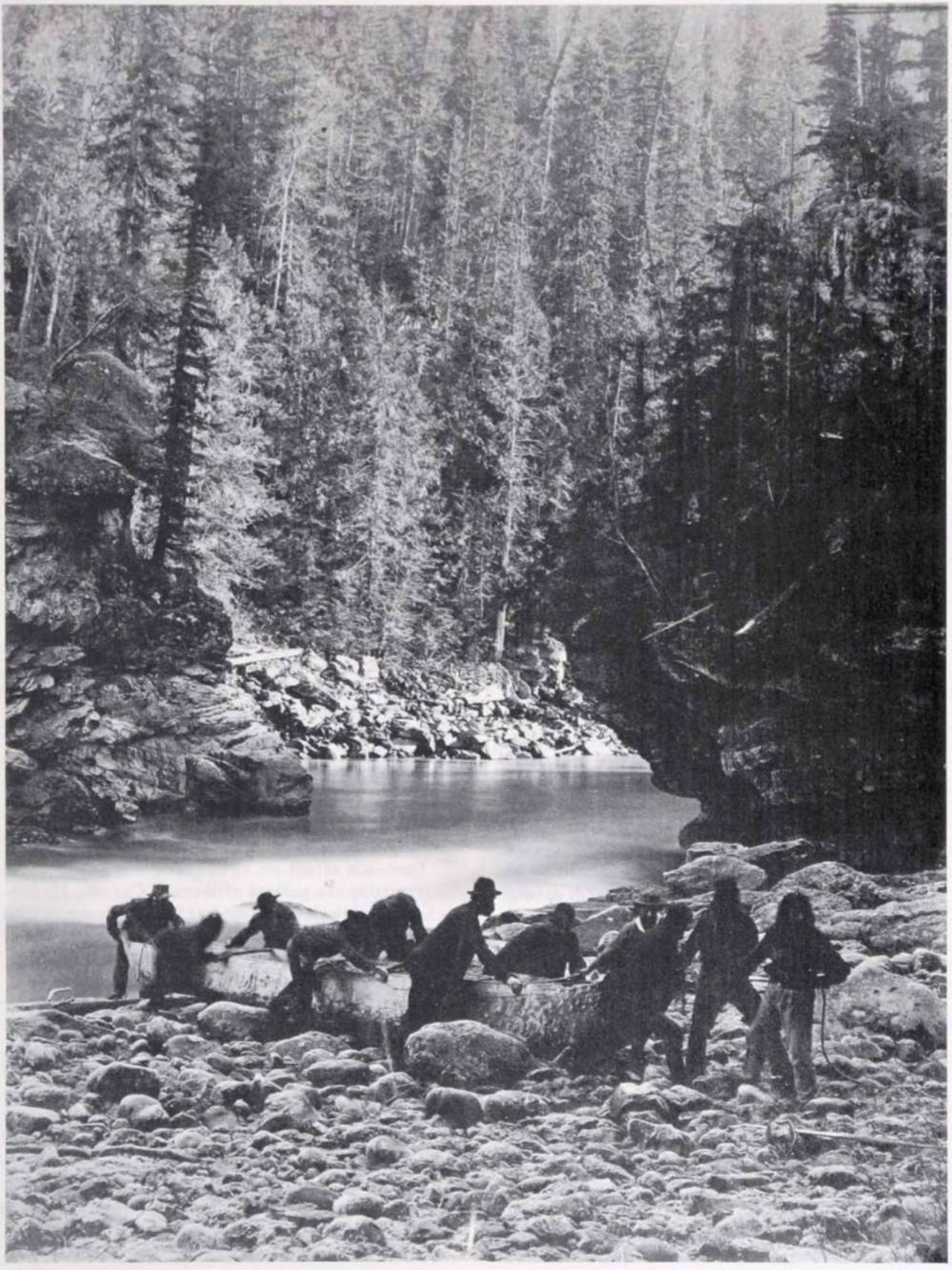
The series of major surveys of the Cordilleran region undertaken by the GSC were the first steps in inking in the blank map of Canada's far West. No mere "rockhounds", the geologists of the Survey became, in the words of Morris Zaslow, author of the official history of the GSC, *Reading the Rocks,* "the foremost authorities on . . . soils, forests, water-powers, wildlife, minerals, climate, navigation and communications. . . . The men of the Survey . . . collected materials from every phase of life they encountered — samples of rocks and minerals, plants, animals, fishes, birds, Indian and Eskimo artifacts, even languages and legends".

Thus, the geologist with pickaxe and pack-horse, played a pathfinder's role in exploring Canada's western Cordillera similar to that of the fur trader with canoe and paddle on the Canadian Shield and the Prairies.

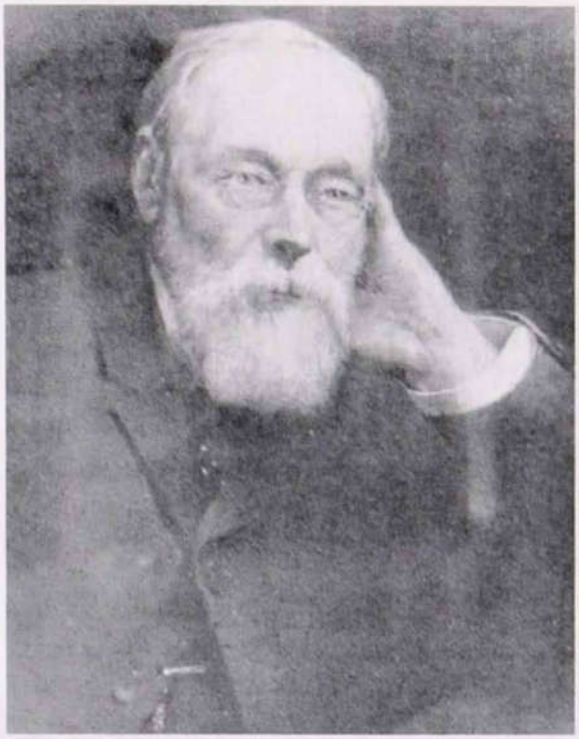
Ottawa lost no time in deploying its pathfinders. Alfred Selwyn, the new director of the GSC, only a year after taking over from Logan, left Montreal on 26 June 1871 for the newest province. He had been instructed by E.A. Meredith, then Secretary of State, to undertake a reconnaissance of B.C. to acquire "such a personal and practical knowledge . . . as will enable you hereafter to successfully direct Geological expeditions in that portion of the Dominion". By rail to San Francisco, by coastal steamer to Victoria, and thence by river boat to Yale, the head of navigation on the Fraser, his journey took a full month.

By canoe and pack train, Selwyn ascended the North

Photographers from the celebrated Montreal firm of Notman and Sons were on hand to record Selwyn's journey on the North Thompson in 1871.



McCord Museum, McGill University, Montreal



Alfred Selwyn undertook a reconnaissance of the new province as one of his first duties.

Thompson. Shortage of supplies and early snows on the Yellowhead Pass (then the planned route for the CPR through the Rockies) frustrated his plan to cross the continental divide. To add to his frustration, his horse, left in camp while he undertook an arduous traverse on foot, ate part of the notebook containing his observations on the country. Nevertheless, he came back a stalwart booster of B.C.'s potential. "A bright and prosperous future is in store for the Alpine Province of the great Dominion ... when the iron road shall have brought her into closer communication with her elder sisters in the east", he wrote in his official report. Two photographers with him, supplied by the Notman firm of Montreal, brought back the first photos of the mountainous interior.

Returning west in 1875, Selwyn brought with him botanist John Macoun of Belleville, who had already visited in the Rockies in 1872 with Charles Horetzky of the CPR survey staff. This time the party travelled up the Cariboo Road, to Quesnel, and thence by pack train and canoe to the headwaters of the Peace. Macoun and Selwyn spent 11 July climbing the 8,500 foot peak (now named Mt. Selwyn) overlooking the river. It "amply repaid" their effort with its magnificent view, Selwyn wrote.

Descending 700 miles by canoe to Fort Chipewyan, while Selwyn turned back to Victoria at Fort St. John, Macoun met most of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers in the Northwest, since the fort was a major transfer point for stores and furs. After listening to them, Macoun said, he "obtained more accurate knowledge of the vast interior than had been obtained by any former explorer". Though no geologist, he made many observations on the rocks, as well as plants, encountered on his prodigious travels, including a description of the now-famous Athabasca oil sands.

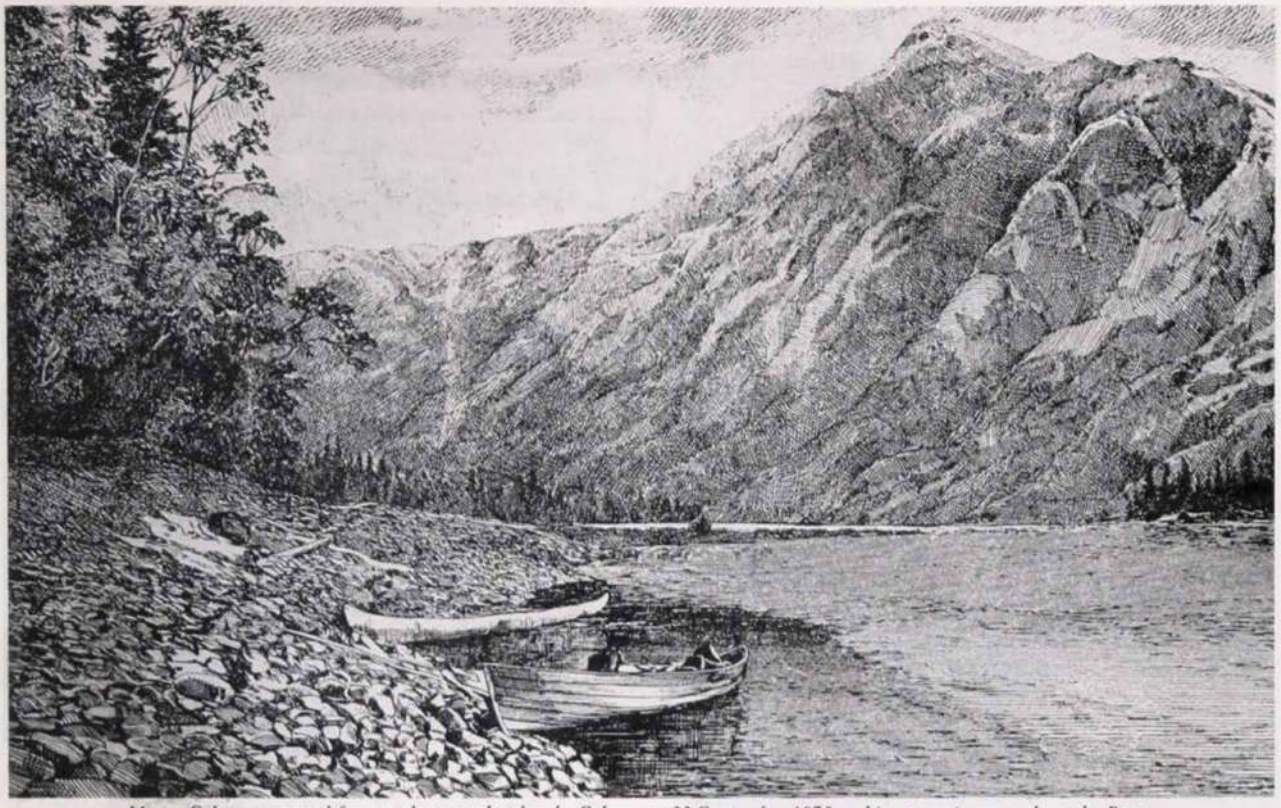
On his return, Selwyn realized that with the difficulties of travel and the desire of the infant mining industry to have a resident geological consultant, a full-time geological presence from the Survey was needed in British Columbia. He already had his eye on George M. Dawson, son of the eminent principal of McGill University, and a graduate of the Royal School of Mines in London who was already working on the North American Boundary Commission under Major D.R. Cameron. The 26-year-old Dawson joined the Survey in 1875, and, though not "resident", did his fieldwork in the Cordillera each season.

At first sight, Dawson was hardly what one would have expected in an intrepid exploration geologist. Hunch-backed from birth, and never taller than a boy, his weak lungs made even a common cold potentially lethal. Yet he spent the next 20 years cheerfully tramping the western Cordillera, before becoming Director of the Survey in 1895. As described by Morris Zaslow, "Far from allowing his physical handicap to restrict his activities, he sought out the most arduous exploring assignments and made a name for himself as a swift, untiring traveller and an intrepid climber who wore out more robust colleagues".

Dawson was also a man of encyclopaedic interests and talents. He was a popular lecturer and teacher, an above average water-colourist, as well as an amateur poet. He served Canada as a diplomat on several missions relating to the Alaska boundary and Bering Sea sealing issues.

Dawson's report of 1877 marked a milestone in interpreting the geology of Western Canada. He concluded that the rocks of central B.C. are no older than the Carboniferous, and that the Triassic was a time of intense vulcanism along the Pacific coast. Sediments and volcanics, he believed, can grade into granite — a heresy to the geologists of his day, but a concept now generally accepted. His other writings covered topics as varied as the locust invasion of Manitoba in 1874, and ethnographic sketches of the Salish and Kwakiutl Indians as well as a dictionary of the Haida language.

His departure to Ottawa in 1895 was regretted by the local mining and scientific community, but ensured that the tasks of continuing exploration of the Cordillera were sympathetically directed. Dawson must have regretted his transfer from canoe and pack-horse wanderings in the Rockies to the often nit-picking administrative routine of Canada's capital. One exam-



Mount Selwyn engraved from a photograph taken by Selwyn on 22 September 1875 on his return journey along the Peace.

ple: his office diary for 11 December 1896 reports: "Called on Hon. Mr. Scott about 25 cents worth of maps which a deadbeat in N.S. is trying, by writing to ministers, to be sent free". His abrupt and untimely death from bronchitis in 1901 came as a blow to the whole mining community in Canada. The feeling of loss is reflected in an "Ode to Dr. George" which appeared in the *B.C. Mining Journal* for April 1901:

And we'd risk our lives on his say so and steer
the course he set
Down the Dease and the lonely Liard, from
Yukon to Stikine;
There's always a point to swear by, where the
little Doctor's been.
Who made no show of his learning, but Lord,
what he didn't know . . .

The 1898 Gold Rush to the Yukon (and a smaller one to Atlin Lake, B.C.) brought the Cordillera to the world's attention as a mineral resource treasure house. Fittingly, Dawson's name was given to the mining camp that rose on the Klondike, which was for a time the biggest city in western North America after San Francisco.

Resources of the Survey were at once mobilized to assist the new placer gold industry. Dawson sent Richard G. McConnell and Joseph B. Tyrrell to examine the deposits. McConnell took a rather over-optimistic view of the possible discovery of a "Mother Lode", which was never, in fact, found. But, while wrong about gold, his optimism about the future of Yukon mining was justified.

Concurrent with the Gold Rush, the development of hard-rock mining first for gold and silver, then for base metals, in the Kootenays, made fewer world headlines, but laid foundations for long term industrial growth. McConnell, who took over the district from Dawson in 1895, reported "the wonderful expansion of mining enterprises in the west Kootanie district and the extent and richness of the deposits carrying silver and gold there . . . The occurrence, lately ascertained, of ores of exceptional value in parts of the granitic area . . . has heretofore been almost disregarded by the miners. Ten years ago this district was almost an untrodden wilderness, but it is difficult now . . . to keep pace with the march of discovery".

Increased production of precious metals led to establishment of an assay office on Hastings Street in Vancouver in 1902 in the hope of deflecting the export of gold bullion to Seattle and San Francisco. Dr. Eugene Haanel, who established the office, shortly became head of the newly-created Mines Branch of the federal government, which awkwardly overlapped the work of the

G.M. Dawson's party at Fort McLeod in 1879. Dawson stands third from left. The sign over the door reads "HBC Fort Misery".

GSC until the creation of a Department of Mines in 1907 united both organizations within a single framework.

The closeness of the geologists of the Survey to the prospector and mine developer reached its peak in the early years of this century; Director R.W. Brock emphasized repeatedly that "work undertaken by the Survey is essentially practical and economic in character".

As a result, both the discoveries and the errors of these geologists grasped the attention of the public. When Charles Camsell came south from the Yukon to the Tulameen district where a major platinum placer had been worked out, he stirred public excitement by reporting the occurrence of diamonds in a sample of chromite: "the first recorded discovery of diamonds in Canada". However, it was later found that the pin-head sized stones had been wrongly identified in laboratory testing, and Camsell's gaffe was celebrated in doggerel at the 1912 GSC annual dinner:

Charles Camsell as all of you know,
Out West to find diamonds did go;
All he got were so small,
They were no use at all,
So he's waiting now till they grow.

Nevertheless, Camsell, the son of a Hudson's Bay Company factor, and a native of the Northwest Territories, went on to a brilliant career with the Survey. During World War I he visited and drilled a number of locations near Kamloops and Tulameen, seeking economic deposits of platinum and mercury, both important strategic minerals. Though this search was unsuccessful, the continued mining activity in British Columbia had convinced Ottawa that a branch office of the Survey was needed in Vancouver. McConnell, now GSC Director, pointed out to his Minister that "We are constantly receiving communications here relative to problems met with in prospecting or in the development of mineral deposits. A resident geologist would be in a position to deal quickly with such matters . . ."

The "Resident Geologist" chosen to open the office in the closing months of the war (May 1918), at the corner of Hastings and Howe Streets in the midst of Vancouver's financial district, was Charles Camsell. He immediately applied for a cost of living allowance to maintain "the more advanced social position" he would have to occupy.

He had little time for social affairs, however. The early months saw him putting together a badly-needed library of geological texts and publications, and appealing to Ottawa for reagents and laboratory ware to do simple geochemical analyses, and put together a small ore-testing plant. As well, Ottawa had given him, as the head of its only western regional office,

the job of managing three of the Survey's seven regional divisions.

The latter responsibility would have been more onerous, except that the staff complement of the whole Survey had been riddled with resignations in the first year of peace; a quarter of the scientific staff had resigned, many to work for the fast-growing oil industry. The world war had brought 100% inflation — but civil service salaries had crept up only 30%. So serious was the situation that B.C. Mines Minister William Sloan introduced a motion in the legislature deploring "the depletion of the Survey staff", and reminding Ottawa that the accomplishment of geological surveys was one of the terms of union.

Camsell himself had received three offers before accepting the position of Resident Geologist, one of which would have doubled his yearly salary of $3,400 plus offering a 10% interest in any properties he discovered, and 25% of his time to do private consulting.

While Camsell remained with the Survey, his frustration may have been evidenced by a request that he be given leave "for six or eight months" in the winter of 1919 to explore the Lena River in Siberia (then controlled by anti-Bolshevik forces) with a Russian who claimed backing from the British Foreign Office. The request seems to have shocked R.G. McConnell, by then Deputy Minister of Mines. He refused Camsell the leave, but assigned a new permanent employee, Victor Dolmage, to be his assistant.

Camsell's loyalty was rewarded; McConnell, then 63, retired abruptly the following year, as a gesture of protest against the salary restrictions which had decimated the Survey, and Camsell was appointed acting Deputy Minister, moving to Ottawa in June 1920, where he began a distinguished 24 years of service in that capacity.

In contrast, Victor Dolmage, who took over the office in 1922, left to do private consulting to the booming local mining industry in 1929. Unfortunately, he hung out his shingle just as the bottom fell out of the stock market, beginning the Great Depression. In his first year, he later complained, he made just $7 as a consultant, and had to take a job as temporary lecturer in geology at the University of B.C. However, the affable and intelligent Dolmage went on to become Western Canada's best known mining and geotechnical consultant.

By the 1920s the Survey had concentrated on geological mapping, and interpretation of map data to developers of mineral deposits. Its geologists in Western Canada were convinced that mapping would be their main task for the foreseeable future. It would have, if the canoe and pack train had remained the prime means for field parties to move around, get supplies, and get their samples back. By 1950, only a third of the Cordilleran region had been mapped. Progress

Charles Camsell in a formal pose.

was faster after aircraft became more common.

One typical Cordilleran geologist of the period was Hugh S. Bostock. The verse in his privately printed *Field Seasons in the Yukon* gives the flavour of the life of a field exploration geologist between the wars:

They sent me forth a'mapping with a hammer in my hand. . . .
The quartzite's rough formation I followed 'cross the hills,
And schist and limestone outcrops among the mountain rills, . . .
I mapped the rugged syenite near Little South Klondike,
And many a granite stock and boss, and many a sill and dyke.
I climbed Volcano Mountain, and marked its latest flow,
Beneath the drift I dotted in just where the faults should go.
I traced the glacial limit round many a nunatak,
And where the ice fronts long gone by began their melting back . . .
And so across the country the map began to change.
O'er the broad plateau it spread, it spread from range to range.

A mapping party generally consisted of the geologist, a cook, a packer, three or four student assistants and nine to fourteen horses. The packer, who was responsible for the horses, and organized their loading and unloading, was a key member of the party. J.E. ("Jack") Armstrong, a recently retired Survey geologist who worked with Bostock as a student, estimates that of three days on the trail, two were occupied in cutting trail for the horses, finding them when they strayed, and caring for them, while one day was spent on geology. Geologist Jack Souther, who started as a packer before taking his degrees, remembers a different perspective: "As a packer I felt the others were just going for walks — I was the only one really working".

Finding the horses in the morning could be a frustrating experience.

"We belled the leaders of each group of horses", remembers Souther, "but they learned to stay very quiet in the brush so you couldn't hear them". While lead horses were sometimes hobbled, many packers avoided this because of the likelihood of injury to the animals in rough country. Occasionally, in flatter, well-watered areas, canoes could be used, though Bostock considered working from canoes "less romantic".

The cook was also a key member of the party. Armstrong remembers some who could bake amazing pastries, and serve gourmet meals from the game which members of the party shot. (Large animals, such as moose and caribou, would be taken only when near a settlement or an Indian camp with which the meat could be shared.) But he also remembers one cook whose repertoire was limited to two dishes — macaroni and beans — which he repeated for dinner on alternate nights for the whole four months of the survey.

What with cutting trail, finding horses, and hunting and gathering food, in the rugged Yukon and B.C. interior, progress of a survey party was often only a few miles a day. This was especially true if, as often happened, the GSC was ahead of the Topographical Survey, which meant that the party had no detailed maps whatever of the area they were surveying. Sometimes the two survey parties travelled together and compared notes along the way.

Filling in surface geology of the vast Cordillera on standard 1:250,000 (four miles to the inch) maps at this rate (and only during the May-October period when the high country was mostly snow-free) would take many decades, if not centuries. With luck, a pack-train party could map 2,000 - 2,500 square miles in a season.

While even in the 1930s bush pilots with float-planes were used to supply some remote parties, and some aerial photographs were available to make up for the absence of topographical maps, aviation was in its infancy, and no one dreamed of the day when the helicopter would replace the pack-horse.

The Survey, of course, had continued to assist prospectors and mine developers between the wars. Bostock recounts one visit to a Yukon developer nicknamed "Hot Stove Douglas", whose silver vein was faulted —

Which way to dig he couldn't guess, his prospecting was halted,
I showed him slickensiding, that made the movement plain,
He placed me on a giant's head and raised my name to fame.

("Slickensiding" is the scratching on the surface of faulted rock that may indicate the direction of movement in the fault.) As a result of Bostock's advice,

Douglas was able to develop his Keno Hill claim and lived his remaining years in comfort on the proceeds of its sale. This kind of close contact was especially common in the Yukon, where the GSC had responsibilities for the survey of mining properties usually carried out by provincial mines departments in southern Canada.

The outbreak of World War II disrupted the GSC's methodical mapping process with more urgent demands. Many Survey geologists were diverted from mining to prospect for strategic materials, of which mercury was again a high priority. The element was an essential component of detonator fuses for ordnance, and Spain, its major world source in peacetime, was passively in the Axis camp, thus cutting the Allies off from that supply.

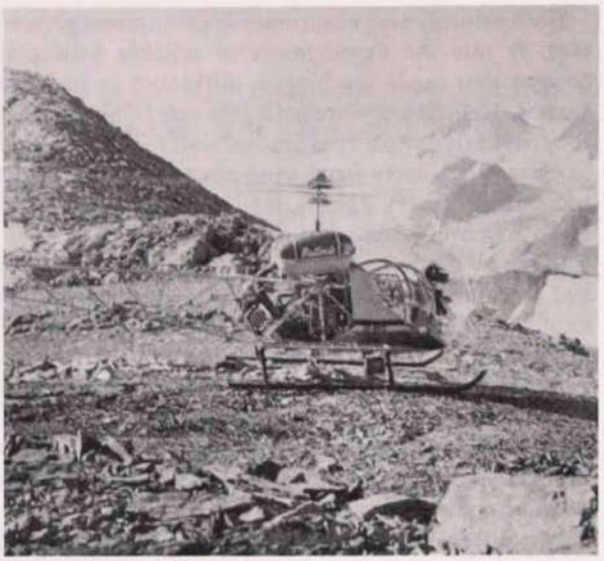
This time, the search was successful. Jack Armstrong and J.G. Gray discovered and mapped a cinnabar (mercuric sulphide) deposit at Pinchi Lake, near Fort St. John, which was developed as the Commonwealth's major source of the element, (though it graded only 10% as rich as Spanish deposits and is no longer being mined). This success, he remembers, brought him a much needed promotion and raise, after a forceful and direct approach to Charles Camsell, since staff grades had been frozen since 1939. He later became assistant to W.E. Cockfield, who had headed the Vancouver office alone since 1939 — another example of wartime economy — and succeeded Cockfield when the latter retired in 1955 after twenty years in the position. During his term from 1955 to 1968 the office developed from the original concept of an information and liaison office with the Western mining industry to a full-scale Cordilleran research facility, with the transfer of earth scientists specializing in this area from Ottawa to Vancouver in 1962.

One positive result of wartime activity for Cordilleran geology was the building of the Alcan Highway and the Canol Pipeline and road from Norman Wells. This provided access for Survey geologists to almost unexplored areas of the Mackenzie, Selwyn, Cassiar and Pelly mountains.

Their research provided a data base for larger helicopter-supported mapping projects by industry and government after the war.

Another important effect of the war was the tremendous development of aviation technology and aerial photographic reconnaissance. It was realized that these advances made the 1:250,000 mapping of all of Canada a possibility within a working lifetime. The increased speed of mapping meant not only a quantitative gain: it was easier to do "running" geology, that is, to correlate the findings in one map area with those of adjoining areas.

The earliest example of this approach, according to Hu Gabrielse and Chris Yorath, editors of the definitive text *Cordilleran Orogen: Canada* (to be published this year by the Geological Society of North America), was Armstrong's "Memoir" summarizing three years' work on the Fort St. James region centred on Pinchi Lake, published by the GSC in 1946. It "became a model for further publications. In it Armstrong suggested correlations of stratigraphic assemblages the length of the Cordillera, the first such attempt in the Intermontane Belt". In contrast, many earlier reports are now considered "travelogues", being restricted to the geology of the map area actually under survey.



The introduction of air travel speeded up the mapping of the Cordillera.

The introduction of aerial support to Survey parties did not always go smoothly, especially in its early stages. Bush pilots such as the legendary Russ Baker, founder of what would become PWA, were contracted to drop supplies to isolated parties from small two-seater aircraft. These drops were sometimes by parachute but, in snow-covered country, the parachute was often dispensed with. According to Gabrielse "the pilot would dive down, and pull out, with the geologist holding the bag of supplies over the side. When the G-force increased, he would drop the bag. We even did it with eggs, just to show that we could".

Nevertheless, with such crude methods, there were many days when a survey party went hungry, or sustained themselves on what the wandering bears had left of a supply drop (a regime of peanut butter and raspberry Jello is recalled by geologist Howard Tipper). Gabrielse recalls using a pack radio after a series of drops consisting mainly of macaroni and appealing through the static for "no more macaroni". "We read you loud and clear" crackled a voice from the base. "Will send more macaroni immediately".

Both aircraft and electronics kept improving, however. It was the development of reliable helicopter designs that made the biggest difference to the field parties. Helicopters were safer, for one thing, because they could sit down anywhere and wait for bad weather to clear. With early fixed-wing aircraft, one geologist remembers "every [bush] landing was a controlled crash". In over 30 years of Cordilleran helicopter contracting by the Survey, only three machines have been lost, and there have been no fatalities among the scientific staff.

Helicopters also solved one problem that had bedevilled geologists all through the pack-horse era: how to get rock samples out intact for study and analysis. Some packers were known to quietly "lose" the heavier samples; and a horse's stumble could reduce the fragile fossil of a trilobite in shale to powder.

"Operation Stikine" is regarded as a watershed reconnaissance operation by today's Survey geologists. A massive attack on one of the major blank areas in the geological map of B.C., it covered six map areas of rugged country (25,540 square miles) and employed eight staff members, forty-three support staff and students, three pack-horse groups, two helicopters, and several fixed-wing aircraft, during the summer of 1956.

On the coasts and islands of British Columbia, the inflatable outboard-powered dinghy (originally called a Canova boat when developed about 1960) has revolutionized Survey transportation almost as much as the helicopter in the high country, being much safer than canoes or motor boats for approaching rocky shores.

Today, the basic 1:250,000 geologic mapping of the Canadian Cordillera, except for a few areas such as the Nass River, has been accomplished — two-thirds of it since 1950.

However, the GSC is by no means working itself out of a job. Both the techniques and the theories of earth science have advanced almost unrecognizably since the days of the pack-horse party. The re-integration of the Earth Physics Branch of Energy Mines and Resources with the GSC, at the Pacific Geoscience Centre at Patricia Bay near Victoria, has brought the Survey closer to another frontier: an understanding of the tectonic forces which originally created the Cordillera. Pat Bay scientists are looking deep beneath the ocean floor off Vancouver Island with sophisticated acoustic scanning equipment — a kind of mapping the old-fashioned "packer" would be hard put to understand.

Economics still plays an important role in the work. The Division is now undertaking, as part of the Frontier Geoscience Program which involves the GSC across Canada, a concentrated multi-disciplinary study of the Queen Charlotte Basin, involving 42 scientists, in order to better understand its structure and history. This in turn will indicate the probability of exploitable hydrocarbon reservoirs being found in the basin.

Mapping has always been the central activity of the GSC — an accurate geological map may be worth 100 times its cost to the national economy if it helps industry find an economic mineral deposit; or, if it warns prospectors away from an uneconomic prospect. A single new map sheet of the Halfway River in northern B.C. surveyed by Robert Thompson, for instance, is estimated to have sparked $30 million in exploration, in return for the $250,000 the GSC spent in mapping the area. And eventual mineral exploitation could generate many times that in value of production. But today the basic geological map is supplemented with a wide variety of seismic, geo-magnetic, gravity, and other information which it is the business of the Survey to gather and interpret.

Some indication of the extent and diversity of the Division's research is provided by a list of its contributions to the 1988 Cordilleran Roundup, an annual "show and tell" session in Vancouver which brings together government, university, and mining industry earth scientists to exchange ideas. These included:

- A new series of aero-magnetic surveys of the Queen Charlotte Basin;
- Rate of uplift in central Vancouver Island suggests growing potential for a major earthquake in the area;
- Newly released geological maps of areas near Faro in the central Yukon;
- Analysis of trace elements in vegetation as an indicator of mineral deposits in the underlying rock;
- How magnetometers can be used to detect non-magnetic minerals such as gold;
- Survey of massive deposits of metallic sulphides beneath the Strait of Juan de Fuca;
- Using the presence of fossilized teeth of a family of marine worms as an index for dating sedimentary rocks.

A glance at these topics, for the layman, suggests how complex and diverse the Survey's original goal of mapping Canada's resources has become, and how the search has moved beyond the boundaries of our land mass to the ocean floor.

To the geologists of the Survey, the list helps affirm the conviction that, whether plodding behind a pack horse, or charting an acoustic trace on an instrument screen, they remain "on the frontier" of their chosen specialities. ♦

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THE SPANISH INFLUENZA 1918-1919

No Armistice With Death

By Robert C. Belyk and Diane M. Belyk

While Canadians have long remembered their dead of World War I, the victims of a companion misery have been all but forgotten. Seventy years ago, in the last months of 1918, a great plague swept around the world. The disease had been given the innocuous name "Spanish influenza", but it was one of the worst flu epidemics ever known. Spanish influenza was a killer that seemed to choose its victims with great care. That the contagion is now an all-but-forgotten part of Canadian history is unfortunate, because its effect on every region of the country was considerable. By the time the disease had run its course, the lives of many Canadians would be altered forever.

Influenza epidemics are not unknown to Western history. Outbreaks of the disease can be traced back to the sixteenth century, and possibly much earlier. The flu itself is rarely fatal, but it may be complicated by pneumonia, which becomes the final arbiter of death. Characteristically, the pneumonia deaths occur either among the very young or the very old — those without the strength to fight off the infection. Yet, strangely, during the 1918 epidemic the highest mortality rate was in the 20-to-40-year age group. These were young, active and apparently healthy adults cut down in their most productive years. No one has been able to explain why this age group was so vulnerable to the Spanish influenza strain.

The origin of the Spanish influenza epidemic is not entirely clear, but it is certain that it did not begin in Spain. More likely, its source was among the new recruits pouring into the crowded American army camps after the entry of the United States into World War I. The disease then came with American troops to Europe and spread among soldiers on both sides of the battle lines. By 30 June 1918 it had broken out among Canadian troops serving at Agny, France.

The Spanish flu epidemic then moved beyond the military to the civilian population. Its spread was extremely rapid. The epidemic had become a pandemic. As many as one person in four, world-wide, contracted the disease. In less than a year there were between 15 and 25 million deaths. Other plagues have had a more devastating effect upon whole societies — the Black Death reduced Europe's population by about

AUTUMN 1918

Seventy years ago this autumn, as the war in Europe was drawing to a close, the Spanish influenza epidemic swept across Canada, ending the lives of between thirty and fifty thousand men, women and children. No section of the country was spared as the plague made its journey across the nation. The grim events described in this article about the flu's visitation in British Columbia were typical of what was taking place across Canada as governments and ordinary citizens attempted to come to grips with an unprecedented disaster.

Vancouver City Archives

Troop trains rolling across Canada spread the contagion as they passed. Men and boys greet the troops at Vancouver.

25 per cent — but no disease, no war, nothing in human history has killed so many so quickly. In the United States, flu deaths during the Spanish epidemic were placed at over half a million. In Canada, the death toll has been estimated at between thirty and fifty thousand. Sixty thousand Canadians had died in the war.

Even for many of those who escaped pneumonia, Spanish influenza was more than just another bout of the flu. The symptoms, which included elevated temperature, vomiting, and general malaise, were extremely debilitating. Frequently the patient was unable to even get out of bed and required considerable personal care. Some older Canadians have vivid memories of their experience with the Spanish flu. Edna Burke remembers coming down with the disease while attending school in Alberta. "I've had my share of sickness", she recalls, "but I've never been so sick as I was with that flu".

Spanish influenza arrived in Eastern Canada by troop ship in the summer of 1918. Oddly, however, it did not spread rapidly until early September, when 400 teachers and students at a Victoriaville, Quebec, school had come down with the disease. By 26 September, when the epidemic finally reached the Montreal school population, Quebec health officials had already counted 12 deaths.

The epidemic had broken out earlier in the city of Boston, and Canadian newspapers grimly reported the advance of the disease in the United States. Halifax, which had only partially recovered from the explosion of the French munitions ship *Mont Blanc* ten months earlier, at first escaped this new tragedy. Spanish influenza was not reported there until the first few days of October. By then it had a good hold elsewhere in the Maritimes. By 30 September Cape Breton Island was already severely affected: five deaths had been reported in Sydney and North Sydney.

Toronto medical health officer Dr. C. J. Hastings, like many of his colleagues across Canada, was reluctant to admit that the disease had reached his city. But by 2 October, with the death of a 32-year-old local man, public health authorities could no longer deny that the contagion had gained a foothold in the city. By then the disease had likely been in Toronto for some time without the acknowledgement of the authorities.

The epidemic moved rapidly west along the Canadian Pacific Railway mainline and gradually spread out to the more remote areas. Soldiers ill with the flu were removed from troop trains and quarantined in Winnipeg, Calgary, and Coquitlam, British Columbia. Despite isolation procedures the epidemic quickly spread beyond the military hospital wards to the civilian population. On 12 October, in an effort to limit

the spread of the disease, the city of Winnipeg moved to close schools, churches, dance halls, theatres and other public meeting places. One week later Calgary was to follow Winnipeg's example. By now the Spanish influenza epidemic was firmly established in every Canadian province.

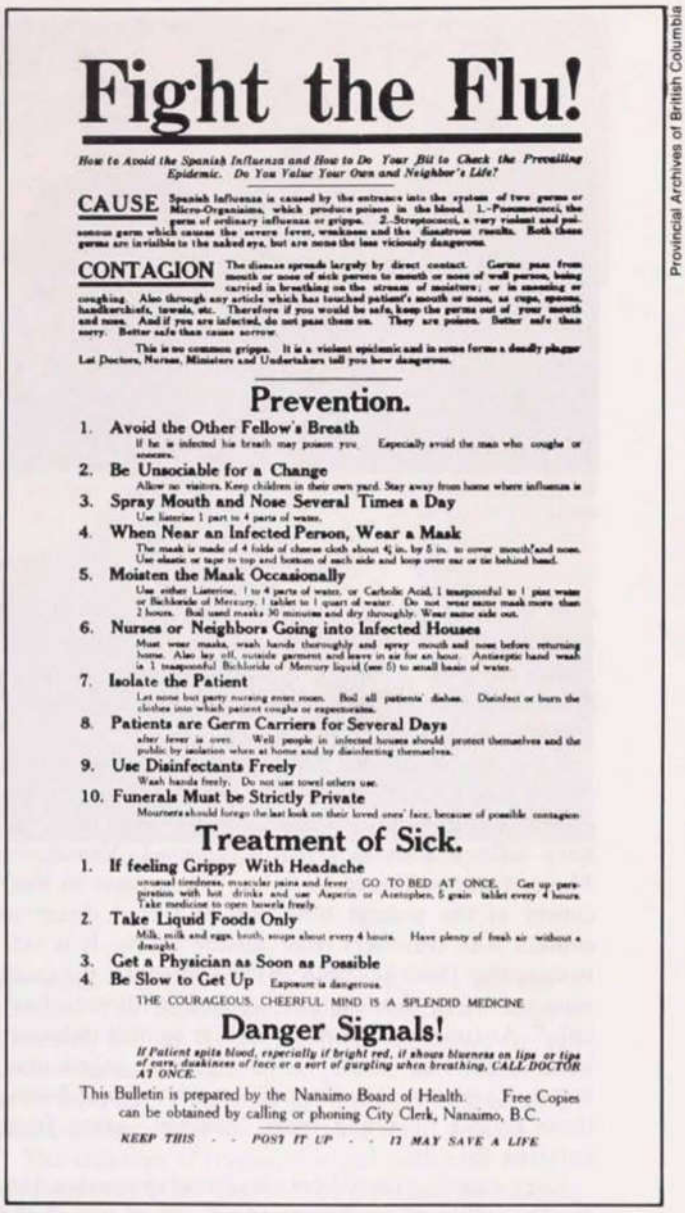
British Columbia was one province particularly hard-hit by the flu. The disease was carried to Vancouver first by train from Eastern Canada and then by ship from all parts of the globe. Among other major North American cities, Vancouver had one of the highest flu-related mortality rates. From Vancouver the disease spread rapidly to neighbouring municipalities, and on to other cities, towns and villages throughout the province.

On Saturday 5 October, the first cases of Spanish influenza within Vancouver city limits were confirmed. Over that weekend medical health officer, Dr. Frederick T. Underhill, conferred with Vancouver's mayor, R.H. Gale, and on Monday the mayor informed the press that the city would begin an immediate program to combat the spread of the disease. The program, however, was very modest, amounting to little more than train and ship fumigation. Although an advocate of public education, Dr. Underhill, curiously, was reluctant to take more far-reaching action. Schools and theatres were to remain open, while those exposed to the disease elsewhere continued to stream into the city. Vancouver now stood on the edge of a full-blown epidemic.

On 8 October, the first Spanish flu cases were reported in New Westminster. Acting medical health officer, Dr. E. H. McEwen, advised New Westminster residents to avoid crowds, and to observe good hygiene practices. Dr. McEwen's advice was soon echoed by other medical health officers throughout the province. Despite the efforts of civic authorities, however, the number of persons suffering from Spanish influenza was increasing. The municipality of North Vancouver reported its first case on 11 October; by the next day the total had risen to ten.

By the second week in October, the Spanish influenza epidemic was now well established in British Columbia's major cities. Vancouver reported one hundred known cases, and three deaths since the outbreak of the disease. In Victoria the number of known flu cases was even higher. The Vancouver Island city reported a total of 183 cases. Schools there had already been closed. While the number of cases reported in New Westminster was still quite small, the city had already recorded one death.

One of the difficulties in determining its spread was that doctors had difficulty diagnosing the disease. Not all flu victims became seriously ill. Many recovered after a few days in bed. This led some doctors to conclude that there were two different strains of flu present



Fight the Flu!

How to Avoid the Spanish Influenza and How to Do Your Bit to Check the Prevailing Epidemic. Do You Value Your Own and Neighbor's Life?

CAUSE Spanish Influenza is caused by the entrance into the system of two germs or Micro-Organisms, which produce poison in the blood. 1.-Pneumococci, the germ of ordinary influenza or grippe. 2.-Streptococci, a very virulent and poisonous germ which causes the severe fever, weakness and the disastrous results. Both these germs are invisible to the naked eye, but are none the less viciously dangerous.

CONTAGION The disease spreads largely by direct contact. Germs pass from mouth or nose of sick person to mouth or nose of well person, being carried in breathing on the stream of moisture; or in sneezing or coughing. Also through any article which has touched patient's mouth or nose, as cups, spoons, handkerchiefs, towels, etc. Therefore if you would be safe, keep the germs out of your mouth and nose. And if you are infected, do not pass them on. They are poison. Better safe than sorry. Better safe than cause sorrow.

This is no common grippe. It is a violent epidemic and in some forms a deadly plague. Let Doctors, Nurses, Ministers and Undertakers tell you how dangerous.

Prevention.

1. **Avoid the Other Fellow's Breath**
   If he is infected his breath may poison you. Especially avoid the man who coughs or sneezes.
2. **Be Unsociable for a Change**
   Allow no visitors. Keep children in their own yard. Stay away from home where influenza is.
3. **Spray Mouth and Nose Several Times a Day**
   Use listerine 1 part to 4 parts of water.
4. **When Near an Infected Person, Wear a Mask**
   The mask is made of 4 folds of cheese cloth about 4½ in. by 8 in. to cover mouth and nose. Use elastic or tape to top and bottom of each side and keep over ear or tie behind head.
5. **Moisten the Mask Occasionally**
   Use either Listerine, 1 to 4 parts of water, or Carbolic Acid, 1 teaspoonful to 1 pint water or Bichloride of Mercury, 1 tablet to 1 quart of water. Do not wear same mask more than 2 hours. Boil used masks 30 minutes and dry throughly. Wear same side out.
6. **Nurses or Neighbors Going into Infected Houses**
   Must wear masks, wash hands thoroughly and spray mouth and nose before returning home. Also lay off, outside garment and leave in air for an hour. Antiseptic hand wash is 1 teaspoonful Bichloride of Mercury liquid (see 5) to small basin of water.
7. **Isolate the Patient**
   Let none but party nursing enter room. Boil all patients' dishes. Disinfect or burn the clothes into which patient coughs or expectorates.
8. **Patients are Germ Carriers for Several Days**
   after fever is over. Well people in infected houses should protect themselves and the public by isolation when at home and by disinfecting themselves.
9. **Use Disinfectants Freely**
   Wash hands freely. Do not use towel others use.
10. **Funerals Must be Strictly Private**
    Mourners should forego the last look on their loved ones' face, because of possible contagion.

Treatment of Sick.

1. **If feeling Grippy With Headache**
   unusual tiredness, muscular pains and fever GO TO BED AT ONCE. Get up perspiration with hot drinks and use Aspirin or Acetophen, 5 grain tablet every 4 hours. Take medicine to open bowels freely.
2. **Take Liquid Foods Only**
   Milk, milk and eggs, broth, soups about every 4 hours. Have plenty of fresh air without a draught.
3. **Get a Physician as Soon as Possible**
4. **Be Slow to Get Up** Exposure is dangerous.

THE COURAGEOUS, CHEERFUL MIND IS A SPLENDID MEDICINE.

Danger Signals!

If Patient spits blood, especially if bright red, if shows blueness on lips or tips of ears, dankiness of face or a sort of gurgling when breathing, CALL DOCTOR AT ONCE.

This Bulletin is prepared by the Nanaimo Board of Health. Free Copies can be obtained by calling or phoning City Clerk, Nanaimo, B.C.

KEEP THIS - - POST IT UP - - IT MAY SAVE A LIFE

Provincial Archives of British Columbia

at the same time: the severe Spanish variety and a milder type which could be passed on as the Spanish influenza. During the early stages of the epidemic, Spanish influenza was frequently diagnosed by the severity of the illness, rather than specific symptomatology.

What was clear, however, was that the number of Spanish influenza cases in the province continued to rise through the middle of October. Vancouver hospitals had become so overcrowded with influenza patients that additional space had to be found. Other than for emergencies, the Vancouver General Hospital had all but limited admissions to influenza victims. On 13 October, a special Sunday meeting of Vancouver

National Archives of Canada

These Saskatchewan farmers, like many other Canadians, used face masks to ward off the flu.

City Council voted to turn the University of British Columbia's auditorium and adjacent classrooms into additional hospital space. Soon many other communities throughout the province were converting existing facilities into emergency hospitals.

From the beginning, communities tended to draw a distinction between themselves and the contaminated outside world. Hence, as late as 11 October, with seventy influenza cases already reported, Vancouver Mayor Gale continued to claim, "Every case in Vancouver at the present time can be traced direct to contact with travellers from outside points. It is safe to state that there has been no local outbreak, the cases reported being the result of contact [with outsiders] only". At times community reaction against outsiders became extreme. Even as the epidemic raged unabated, Kamloops City Council considered prohibiting those people travelling from "infected" areas from entering the city.

Long-standing prejudices also found expression during the influenza epidemic. The death of one of the Chinese hospital's patients provided New Westminster city police with a reason to briefly shut down the facility. That no western physician attended the patient raised police concerns; so did what were apparently acupuncture marks on the body of the victim. New Westminster's medical health officer, Dr. McEwen, concluded that while the marks were intended to be a counter irritant — much like a mustard plaster — they were useless and barbaric. While the coroner's jury eventually found that the individual died of pneumonia, it recommended that the hospital be kept under closer supervision.

From its beginning on 5 October, the epidemic peaked in Vancouver on 22 October 1918. In addition, two small crests were noted in the middle of January, and the beginning of March 1919. The epidemic was over by the end of March. In Kamloops the pattern was quite similar to Vancouver. Beginning in the first week of October the epidemic peaked about 26 October. Another small crest was reported at the beginning of March 1919. However, there were significant regional differences in the pattern and severity of the epidemic. The epidemic began around the middle of October in the Vancouver Island coal mining community of Nanaimo, but it did not appear to crest until about 5 November 1918. The epidemic was so severe there that Nanaimo city council moved to place a ban on public funerals. The Nanaimo *Free Press* reported the number of deaths in November alone as 76 — the monthly average was about 18 deaths. Agricultural communities were generally less severely affected. Even as late as 7 November, the Fraser Valley farming town of Chilliwack had recorded no influenza deaths.

By 16 October, many cities and towns throughout the province had moved to close schools, theatres and pool halls and cancel public gatherings. One notable exception to closure, however, was Vancouver. The city's medical health officer continued to urge Vancouver city council to keep the city open. "Supposing we close the city up tight", argued Dr. Underhill, "we could not prevent hundreds of men congregating in the big industrial plants, nor hundreds of people assemblying

To Avoid The "Flu"
Ride a "C.C.M." Bicycle
GET away from the stuffy, overcrowded street cars, with their danger of contagion.
Ride a bicycle through the pure, fresh air.
With an easy-running, long-lasting C.C.M. Bicycle, cycling will be a pleasure as well as a benefit.
You will need a bicycle next spring, anyway, and will save money by buying now.
Look for these Nameplates

[*sic*] in the department stores". Underhill further maintained that Vancouver schools should remain open because children could be kept under observation and control there.

Opposition to the medical health officer's open policy was continuing to grow, however. Provincial authorities hinted that, in the face of the city's refusal to act, it might be necessary for the provincial government to step in. On another front, Vancouver doctors were increasingly speaking out against Dr. Underhill's policies. Physicians urged civic authorities to close down the city to prevent the spread of the epidemic.

Not surprisingly, Vancouver's failure to enact a closure bylaw did not escape the attention of the province's other major cities. "Why should a large centre like Vancouver", wrote the New Westminster *British Columbian*, "where the Spanish influenza epidemic is most acute, remain wide open . . . when smaller centres are taking the most drastic measures to stamp out the trouble?" Similarly, the Victoria *Daily Colonist* complained, ". . . Vancouver City carries on as if the epidemic there is not spreading and as if it is a law unto itself". Vancouver's failure to implement closure, the *Colonist* implied, arose from mercantile rather than medical concerns. While it did not affect most businesses directly, many Vancouver businessmen nevertheless strongly opposed closure.

On 19 October, in the face of what amounted to a provincial government ultimatum, Vancouver agreed to close the city. Delaying closure may have seemed to make sense to civic authorities because few understood the seriousness of the situation. Obviously, many on city council had experienced flu epidemics before, and it would seem likely that once this one peaked, pressure to close the city would decrease rapidly. The problem, however, was that the situation kept getting worse.

The shortage of doctors brought about by World War I — British Columbia alone had sent 200 physicians to the forces — meant an increased patient load for the remaining practitioners. Now with hundreds of flu victims seeking immediate medical help, physicians were left even more hard-pressed. Worse yet, doctors were not immune to the disease. On 21 October, the Vancouver *Province* reported that thirty city physicians were unable to work due to the flu or other illnesses.

But it was not a shortage of doctors which produced a crisis at Vancouver's St. Paul's Hospital. By 21 October, already four of St. Paul's nurses had died from the disease, and with 22 of its nursing staff ill, the hospital was forced to temporarily refuse further admissions.

The nursing shortage was not only confined to St. Paul's Hospital. So many had been recruited into war service by 1918, that only about 200 trained nurses

Provincial Archives of British Columbia

Vancouver's medical health officer, Dr. F. T. Underhill, opposed closing the city.

remained available for the entire city. On Sunday 20 October the superintendent of Vancouver General Hospital, Dr. M. T. MacEachern, appealed to Vancouver residents to give up all private duty nurses. "We must have every nurse at our disposal", declared Dr. MacEachern, "and we must have them at once."

The shortage of trained medical personnel was also significant in other areas of the province. By 23 October, the situation in Prince Rupert was so critical that the authorities were forced to turn to the provincial government with a request for more staff. Nanaimo, also, was suffering under a shortage of medical staff. By 21 October, two of the city's five doctors were ill with the disease.

The flu and its complications were indeed so debilitating that there was concern expressed for those left at home without access to proper care. Neighbours were frequently reluctant to assist sick families, for fear that they would bring the disease into their own homes. Some families were fortunate to have relatives living nearby. In Vernon, British Columbia, 10-year-old Elmo Smith brought the flu home. The entire Smith household, with the exception of an infant daughter, was soon down with the contagion. In fact, so sick was the family that an uncle who lived quite far away had

to be recruited to do the chores on the Smith farm. But for those without anyone to assist, the situation was desperate.

The number of flu cases in Vancouver peaked on 22 October, with 522 cases reported. The shortage of trained and untrained nurses was now acute. "We are here wringing our hands and unable to help in many cases", reported one harried health official, "because women of the city who are in a position to assist as a duty are not doing so".

In Vancouver, over 200 untrained women were recruited to help flu victims, many of whom were still in their homes. Nursing influenza patients was a courageous act, for these volunteers often came down with the flu themselves, or what was often worse, brought the infection to their own families. In the city of Nelson, the health department appended its request for volunteers with the restriction: "Very young girls are not required as they are more susceptible to disease".

With the number of flu cases increasing, hospital supplies were in greater demand. In Nanaimo, sheets and pillow cases were in such short supply that volunteers had to be pressed into service making bedding for the hospitals. Medicines, too, were sometimes difficult to obtain and expensive. Camphor, eucalyptus and oil of cinnamon were in considerable demand. By 22 October, the wholesale price for a pound of camphor at Vancouver had risen from 40 cents a week earlier to $6.50. Also quick to take advantage of the epidemic were the patent medicine makers. Remedies which only recently had been advertised for stomach upsets or constipation were suddenly found to prevent the onset of the flu or pneumonia. The manufacture of cloth influenza masks was another growing industry. Many civic health departments encouraged the use of such masks in public, while at least one city council made the use of masks compulsory.

Probably the most popular anti-flu medicine was distilled spirits. The Prohibition Act of 1917 permitted the sale of intoxicants only by prescription through drug stores or government vendors. Now, as the demand for *spiritus fermenti* soared, supplies dwindled and a severe strain was placed on the distribution system. In the face of public outcry, Prince Rupert city council passed a resolution requesting that the provincial government open a liquor dispensary immediately in that city. In Vancouver, the hours of the government liquor outlet were extended at the city's request, while Mayor Gale petitioned government officials to permit the donation of all confiscated liquor in police custody to city hospitals.

Regardless of treatment and precautions, by the last two weeks of October the situation throughout much of the province was becoming alarming. Businesses closed as staff came down with the disease, buildings remained unheated as janitors fell ill, the movement

CRHA Archives, MTC Collection

A special streetcar took Montreal victims to the cemetery.

of mail slowed to a trickle as postal workers booked off sick. By 21 October, telephone service in Vancouver was severely crippled when over a hundred operators were off ill. Vancouver residents were urgently requested by the telephone company to use their phones only in emergencies. Adding to the difficulties was the fact that cemetery space in the city was very limited. Moreover, with almost two dozen deaths on 21 October alone Vancouver was faced with a serious shortage of grave-diggers.

A similar crisis occurred in the town of Cranbrook in the southeastern corner of the province. When the local undertaker fell ill there was no one to prepare for burial the flood of flu victims. Fourteen-year-old Frank Robert's father assumed the role of mortuary caretaker during the absence of the undertaker. One night the boy accompanied his father to the funeral parlor to check the furnace. After entering the building through the back door, his father pulled the cord on a bare overhead bulb. The flood of light suddenly revealed a ghastly sight. The room was full of bodies, so many that they were stacked like firewood.

Occasionally local newspapers hinted at the tragic personal stories hidden behind the death count. When one soldier was paralyzed in both legs, he was returned home to his wife and children in Vancouver. But more misfortune still awaited the family. In October, the young man's wife was struck by the flu and taken to a temporary hospital located at South Vancouver's Cedar Cottage. She died there soon after admittance. The disabled veteran was left alone to care for three young children.

While many individuals continued to mourn the loss of friends and family members, the province as a whole recovered from the epidemic remarkably quickly. As the number of influenza cases declined throughout the province, British Columbia newspapers devoted less and less space to flu stories.

Manitoba Archives: L.B. Foote Collection

Nurses serve as pallbearers for a colleague, Winnipeg 1918.

Today it would seem that the Spanish influenza epidemic is barely recalled at all. Yet, in the face of such an unparalleled tragedy, a fair question is why has the plague not been given a greater place in history? There are a number of reasons why it has been so neglected. First, because it rarely claims victims itself, influenza is generally a disease not regarded as serious. Writing in December 1918, Assistant Surgeon General A. J. McLaughlin of the United States Health Service observed:

> an epidemic of yellow fever with the loss of thousands of lives spread over a considerable territory would throw the whole country into a panic. A dozen cases of plague in a seaport town would cause the same kind of excitement; but it is remarkable to see the placidity by which the people have generally taken the loss of 300,000 lives.

Second, even at the time, the epidemic did not receive the coverage it warranted. Contemporary newspaper accounts tended to play down the seriousness of the situation within their own communities. Early on, British Columbia newspapers reported the influenza epidemic in Eastern Canada and the United States as if it was an isolated event occurring on the other side of the world. "Although an unwelcome visitor possessing the name 'Spanish Grippe' has made its appearance in the city of Victoria", the Victoria *Daily Times* wrote on 7 October, "there is no suggestion that the stay will be attended by anything like the serious consequences that marked Eastern visitations". Ironically, on the same day the paper noted with regret the sudden passing of a young theatre manager from pneumonia after a short illness. The article made no connection between this death and the epidemic.

As the situation deteriorated, newspapers appeared more concerned with preventing public panic, than keeping their readers informed. No matter how terrible the situation, no matter how many residents had fallen with the flu or died from pneumonia, local newspapers seemed able to find some spot where the situation was worse. And when it was difficult to convince their readership it was worse elsewhere, newspapers refrained from telling the entire story. Thus, when the number of flu fatalities began to spiral upward in the city, the Nanaimo *Free Press* simply stopped reporting death statistics in its influenza articles.

Similarly, even as the epidemic swept across North America, public authorities tended to deny the reality of the situation. Even as late as 9 October, after Spanish influenza had already been reported in the city, Vancouver medical health officer, Dr. Frederick T. Underhill would claim, "it is just as likely as not that if proper precautions are taken . . . that we shall come through without any serious epidemic".

During the last seventy years, Canada has faced many other influenza outbreaks. Most have been mild. Some like the swine flu epidemic of the sixties have been quite serious. But fortunately none have even come close to that tragic epidemic of 1918 when it was indeed, more than just the flu. ♦

Robert C. Belyk and Diane M. Belyk live in Port Coquitlam, British Columbia. Mr. Belyk's article on the last days of President Warren G. Harding appeared in our February/March 1988 issue.

When Toronto Was Young

By Robert Saunders

TORONTO OF OLD

By Henry Scadding; edited by Frederick H. Armstrong. Dundurn Press, Toronto, 1987. 403 pp., illus. $19.95.

Metropolitan Toronto Library Board

Henry Scadding: writing with polished elegance and wit.

Strong objections were raised in 1826 when Barnabas Bidwell was elected to Upper Canada's Legislative Assembly as the member for Lennox and Addington. Bidwell was universally acknowledged to be both intelligent and virtuous, but he had one serious defect. It was his grave misfortune to have been born in the United States of America. There was a move to have his election overturned and to have him expelled from the assembly, but members hesitated to take such a drastic action. Would it be legal?

It was at this point that Dr. John Strachan entered the debate. He was not yet Bishop Strachan, but he was already a fierce and formidable cleric and his intervention was decisive. "Turn him out, turn him out," cried Strachan, "and never mind the law."

It was the voice of Toronto, proud, arrogant and intensely British and it was this Toronto — the Toronto of the 1820s and 1830s — that Henry Scadding looked back on when he came to write his *Toronto of Old*. The book was published in 1873 and by then the pride and arrogance of Toronto's "fine old families" had been considerably diluted, but the affection for the Mother Country was nearly as strong as ever. (Indeed, as late as the Second World War there were still some members of Toronto's upper middle class who, although their great-grandfathers may have been born in Canada, continued to look on England as their spiritual home and regarded anything Canadian as uncouth, if not outright ridiculous.)

Scadding's picture of Toronto's Family Compact in all its glory, before the Rebellion of 1837 had cast its pall, is far from being harsh or censorious. This was no doubt partly because, as rector of Toronto's Holy Trinity Church, he belonged to the "respectable" class himself, but it was mainly because he was far too gentle, kind and urbane a man to think poorly of any fellow human. A photograph shows him examining what looks like a pocket watch and with his portly figure, mass of white hair and luxuriant beard, he resembles nothing so much as a scholarly Santa Claus.

His learning was as wide as it was deep, as later researchers into Toronto's history have acknowledged, but, besides this, he wrote with polished elegance and with such a whimsical wit that his book is still a delight to read.

The Toronto he describes was still little more than a frontier village and the stories he tells of its inhabitants were the kind of fondly-remembered anecdotes that villagers in all

countries have handed down from one generation to another. There was the time, for instance, when, on some public holiday or other, that celebrated orator Mr. Jesse Ketchum had mounted a farmer's cart and was edifying the gathering with more than a few well-chosen words. Some of the younger and more irreverent of his audience grew tired of this and, at a given signal, a number of them suddenly seized hold of the cart and propelled it at top speed down the road with the unfortunate Mr. Ketchum still on top of it and, as Scadding dryly observes, "maintaining his equilibrium with difficulty".

Another time, during a performance of Sheridan's *Pizzaro* at Frank's Hotel in Market Lane, one of the actors was required to hurl to the ground an object that had been described as "a massive gold bar". It was, in reality, a piece of gilded wood which bounced lightly about the stage to the vociferous delight of the audience.

There were too, as in all villages, notable characters such as Mr. Columbus the cutler who could turn his hand to anything from repairing a woodsman's axe to supplying an elderly lady with a set of false teeth — and inserting them into her mouth, too. Scadding recalled that when he was a small boy he had once visited this "worthy artisan" in his shop and had had the temerity to tell him that some article must be ready by a certain day. Fifty years later he still remembered how an indignant Mr. Columbus had told him that the word "*must*" could only be used by the King of France.

This charming book was, unaccountably, out of print for many years, but a new edition finally appeared in 1966 and this has now been skillfully abridged and edited by Frederick H. Armstrong. Dr. Armstrong has also supplied an introduction that tells the reader all he needs to know to enjoy *Toronto of Old*. There is a good index, some interesting photographs, a sensible bibliography and thumbnail sketches of many of the persons named in Scadding's book.

Dr. Armstrong teaches history at the University of Western Ontario. It should also be noted that he is a fourth-generation Torontonian.

Robert Saunders — born, raised and educated in Toronto himself — recently retired from the editorial page of the "Winnipeg Free Press".

An Eskimo in New York

By Robert V. Oleson

GIVE ME MY FATHER'S BODY
The Life of Minik, the New York Eskimo

By Kenn Harper. Blacklead Books, Frobisher Bay, 1986. 275 pp., illus. $16.95.

Twenty thousand New Yorkers flocked to the Brooklyn docks where the *Hope* was moored in October 1897. Robert Peary had just returned from his fourth expedition to the Arctic and the curious throngs had gathered to see the celebrated Cape York meteorite and the six Polar Eskimos from northwest Greenland. The meteorite was one of three "heisted" by Peary in the interest of science. They were, the Polar Eskimos believed, a woman, her tent and a dog hurled to earth by some supernatural power. They were also the sole source of metal for the people of the region. Their loss not only deprived them of the metal but also created a void in their culture. The loss of the metal could be balanced off through trade, the legend would live on without the hard evidence to illustrate its reality, but there would be no compensation to the Polar Eskimos for the loss of their kin.

To Peary the Polar Eskimos were "his people"; tools to be used to achieve his goal of reaching the North Pole and their land was his personal fiefdom. He controlled the supplies of trade goods and profited handsomely from that venture. The artifacts he collected, including the meteorites, were destined for the American Museum of Natural History and entered the country duty free. They did not always find their final resting place at the museum, as Mr. Harper clearly illustrates. The artifacts were routinely shipped to the museum, inventoried and transhipped to the Peary Arctic Club. The club (founded by wealthy supporters of the explorer, including Morris Jesup, the president of the museum) would then sell off those artifacts which it did not wish to retain. This "scam", claims Harper, provided a good deal of financing for Peary's wanderings. Further funds were provided through the purchase of artifacts by the museum itself. Indeed, the meteorite which people viewed as the generous donation of the arctic explorer was sold to the museum more than a decade after its arrival for $50,000. Peary's wife Josephine gladly pocketed the proceeds "as a nest egg".

Among the items collected by Peary were the remains of numerous Polar Eskimos and the accessories buried with them. Peary exhumed the bodies and, claims Harper, had "a morbid affinity for the bodies of Eskimos he knew by

name". On this trip he had gone a step further and brought six living specimens for the museum. It is unclear whether he was specifically requested to obtain living specimens by the museum officials, but there is some evidence that Peary acted on the advice of Franz Boas who was then employed at the museum. They may have expected one person, but certainly not six.

The Eskimo group was made up of Qisuk and his six-year-old son Minik, Nuktaq and his wife Atangana, their daughter Aviaq and a young man, Uisaakassak. The new arrivals were taken to the museum and housed first in the basement and then on one of the upper floors. Within a month the entire group had fallen ill and were in Bellevue Hospital. In February 1898 Qisuk died of tuberculosis and by May Atangana, Nuktaq and Aviaq had also succumbed. Uisaakassak survived and in July shipped out on the *Windward* to return to his people. His experience provided him with some great stories and initially his people listened with amazement. The amazement turned to amusement, then to disbelief; Uisaakassak became known as the "Big Liar" and was never able to overcome the label even though his incredible stories were later verified by explorers and Minik.

Uisaakassak, in spite of his tarnished reputation, was the most fortunate of the visitors to New York. The four who had died were dissected and inspected by the College of Physicians and Surgeons, their brains pickled and preserved for scientific study. The museum took possession of the remains and bleached the bones which were then stored and occasionally brought out for study and display. That may not have been unusual for museums of the time, but identifying the skeleton as that of Qisuk when it was on display was certainly out of the ordinary.

Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, who built up the Smithsonian Institution's collection of skeleton and skeletal material into one of the world's largest, had been one of the first scientists to greet and study the Polar Eskimos on their arrival in

Peary in arctic costume.

New York. In the case of Qisuk, Dr. Hrdlicka examined his body immediately after death, and subsequently "secured and described the brain" of Qisuk. He published his findings in 1901 in an article entitled "An Eskimo Brain" which began with the statement "The brain in question is that of Qisuk . . .".

In the "interest of science" the remains of the four dead Eskimos were added to the collection of the American Museum of Natural History, but there was one further incident that cannot be explained in those terms. Shortly after Qisuk's death museum officials gathered on the grounds of the museum to stage a fake funeral for the benefit of Minik, Qisuk's son. It would appear that this hoax was staged to comfort the orphan boy in his grief and in the short term it did provide some solace. But the truth eventually became known to Minik and caused him far more grief than it had ever alleviated. To make matters worse, Minik discovered that his father's skeleton was not only on display at the museum but identified. Minik's efforts, during his late teens, to recover his father's remains and possessions and return to Greenland for proper burial met with failure and caused Minik much anguish.

Minik's twelve years in New York were not devoid of more fortunate and happier events. He was taken in by William Wallace, the superintendent of buildings at the American Museum of Natural History, and his wife Rhetta and was treated as their own son. Morris Jesup, with whom Minik lived for a short time and who promised the Wallaces support for Minik's care and education, encouraged them to adopt the boy, but never provided any substantial support for the boy's upbringing. Indeed, Jesup, Peary, the museum and the United States government were eventually to deny all responsibility for Minik.

In 1898 William Wallace not only held an important post at the museum, but had also built up an impressive business empire based primarily on his dairy farm in upstate New York. He was able to hire a tutor for Minik to supplement his school education. During the summers Minik could enjoy the country life and his health (which was never good during his New York years) always improved during these periods. Minik proved to be a very good student and developed as an athlete to the point where he won competitive swimming, diving and skating events.

William Wallace's world began to crumble in 1901 when he was accused of misappropriation of museum funds and of taking kickbacks from contractors who dealt with the museum. There appears to have been grounds for these allegations and Wallace was fired from his job, but never prosecuted. The author explains the lack of legal action in terms of the Jesup-Peary "scam" . . . neither they nor the museum wanted to create a scandal by prosecuting Wallace who knew of the scam and could cause problems for those involved. Within three years Wallace had lost his property, his job, and become a widower. He staunchly supported Minik through those difficult times, and Minik stood by him and did what he could to contribute to their support.

In 1907 Minik's life entered a trying and disturbing phase. He

knew that his father's skeleton was on display at the museum, that the funeral was a hoax, and now wanted to return to Greenland with the remains and learn again the language and ways of his people. For two years he pursued this goal, meeting with frustration, depression, thoughts of suicide and considerable publicity in New York newspapers. His plight became known throughout the country. Wallace supported Minik as best he could, but Minik's primary ally was Roswell Chester Beecroft who took Minik's case to the President of the United States. As a Greenlander, Minik was a Danish citizen and the Danish consul in New York took an interest in the case.

By 1909 the plight of Minik and his desire to return to his homeland were well known. Minik (who was known as Minik Peary Wallace) had been asked to speak to the Arctic Club of America (the membership of which generally supported the explorations of Peary's chief rival Dr. Frederick Cook). Minik unveiled his plans for an all-Eskimo expedition to the North Pole and at the same time criticized Peary and his methods. The result was that the club offered its assistance in getting Minik back to Greenland. The publicity generated by Minik over the past two years was, however, the major factor leading to Minik's return to Greenland. Peary had been in the Arctic during this period and his wife Josephine and Herbert Bridgman (Secretary and Treasurer of the Peary Arctic Club, Peary's master strategist, and an accomplished public relations man) viewed the Minik affair as an embarrassment and potentially injurious to Peary's reputation and his ability to raise funds if a further expedition was necessary to reach the North Pole. They agreed that the only solution was to send Minik back to Greenland and Bridgman set the plan in motion. The result was that Minik returned to his native land in the fall of 1909. (Although he had been quoted in the newspapers to the effect that he would shoot Peary on sight, their meeting at Cape York was an amicable one.)

Minik's re-education in the language and the ways of his people was undertaken by Soqqaq, an elder of the Polar Eskimos, a powerful shaman and a great hunter. Within two years Minik was "the equal of any of his people and the superior of many". The adjustment was not an easy one and Minik never fully re-adapted to the Eskimo way of life. For seven years he remained with his people and during that time worked alongside Knud Rasmussen, Peter Freuchen, and members of the Crocker expedition. His stories of his life in New York took on a new light . . . he had been a ringleader in a crime ring and was wanted dead or alive; he had escaped only with the help of Mrs. Cook who arranged for passage to Quebec, then Newfoundland and home. Torn between two societies, he developed a desire to return to New York to promote his plan for an Eskimo expedition to the Pole and one more attempt to recover his father's remains. Arriving in New York in the fall of 1916, Minik was unable to generate interest in his project. He left New York and settled into a quiet life in northwestern New Hampshire working in the logging trade. He died at the home of his new found friends, the Halls of Clarksville, during the Spanish flu epidemic in 1918. His brief, tragic life had come to an end two decades after his arrival in New York.

Kenn Harper has produced a very interesting, very readable, thoroughly researched volume that should be required reading in any course dealing with native people and anthropology. There is something in this book for everybody — tragedy, love, scandal, ethics, morality — and it raises more questions than it answers. Perhaps Mr. Harper will pursue some of these questions in the future. The major drawback in the book is the lack of an index and the format used for the footnotes, an unorthodox method which is frustrating to the reader. The disappointing aspect is that it is produced by a small independent publishing company, and it will probably not receive the distribution and publicity which it deserves.

Robert V. Oleson, a former Hudson's Bay Company historian, works with the Intergovernmental Relations Secretariat of the Manitoba government.

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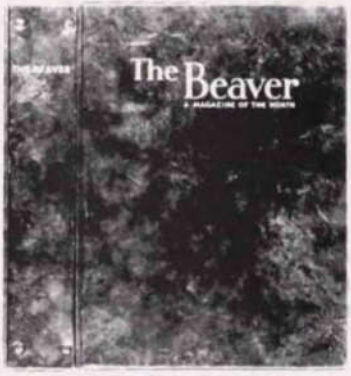

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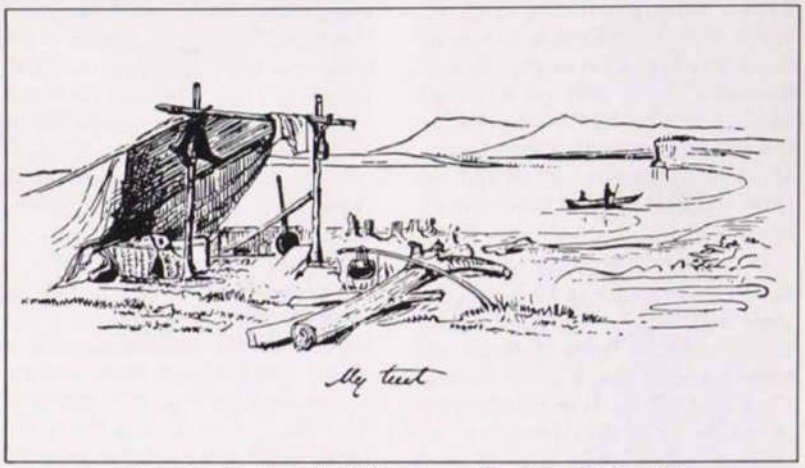
Making Sense of a New World

By WALTER C. PATTERSON

INVENTING CANADA
Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation

By Suzanne Zeller. University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1987. 356 pp., illus. $35.00 cloth, $15.95 paper.



"My tent", a drawing by Sir William Logan, from "Inventing Canada".

How do you invent a country? The question is prompted by Suzanne Zeller's fascinating commentary *Inventing Canada*. "Invent", from the Latin "invenire", means literally "to come upon"; and an "inventory" is a catalogue of what you find. The settlers in British North America came upon a wilderness: vast, forbidding and unyielding. How could they establish themselves in this daunting new world, encompass it intellectually, come to terms with it and transform it into civilized habitation?

After the revolution of 1776 ripped out the centre of the group of British colonies along the Atlantic coast, the problem of survival as a society became yet more pressing for those retaining their British connections. Among them, however, were some imbued by a new way of thinking, that would come to be called "science". To these early scientists, the wilderness was scientific raw material. They gave it identity, character and coherence; by so doing they helped to make it economically, socially and politically comprehensible. According to Suzanne Zeller, the nineteenth-century scientists of British North America came upon a sprawling unknown and invented a country.

Zeller is assistant professor of history at Wilfrid Laurier University. Her book, subtitled "Early Victorian Science and the Idea of a Transcontinental Nation", recounts and analyzes the interaction between the infancy of modern science and the emergence of modern Canada. Zeller argues that the innovative disciplines of "inventory science", in particular geology, terrestrial magnetism, meteorology and botany, played key roles in the metamorphosis of the incomprehensible unknown into a coherent nation "from sea to sea". "Inventory science" as Zeller uses the term entails "mapping and cataloguing of resources and other phenomena", an activity already keenly pursued in England, Scotland and other European countries, in fields from anthropology to zoology. (In passing, did you know that "statistics" is so called because it began with the collection and assessment of factual data of interest to the state — that is, the government? Neither did I.)

In the early nineteenth century, science — hitherto an academic exercise indulged in by gentlemen of independent means as philosophical leisure — was evolving into an undertaking much more explicitly practical and "utilitarian". The rational study of nature was no longer just an end in itself, but also a means to an end: to improve the human condition, to solve economic and technical problems, or indeed to make money. In her introduction, Professor Zeller declares that "Science provided nineteenth century colonists, both English Canadians and some French Canadians, with not only the practical means to dominate their surroundings but also an ideological framework within which to comprehend the experience of doing so. It enabled Canadians to make sense of the New World by translating from the experience of the Old and even, conversely, to clarify the familiar in the light of a new perspective."

Professor Zeller develops this thesis in three parts, considering in turn geology, terrestrial magnetism and meteorology, and botany. In the early nineteenth century geology, the study of the earth, was in ferment. The traditional theological worldview was being challenged by the

first stirrings that were to coalesce into Darwin's theory of evolution. A key text was Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, with its portrayal of a planet undergoing dynamic changes on a time-scale of millions of years. Moreover, geologists had begun to demonstrate that systematic field investigations could yield mineral wealth, in the form of coal, iron ore and other economically valuable deposits. Emigrants to Canada, especially from Scotland, brought with them a burgeoning enthusiasm for "geologizing". (The verb "to geologize", like the verb "to botanize", which appears later in the book, are well-documented historically; but they still make the teeth ache.)

Prominent among the scientist-inventors of Canada were William (later Sir William) Logan, first director of the Geological Survey of Canada; Lieutenant Henry Lefroy of the Royal Engineers, who pioneered the magnetic survey of northern North America; Egerton Ryerson, who made science a centrepiece of the Canadian school system, as a unifying principle able to bridge the many chasms that divided the embryonic Canadian society; H. Y. Hind, who used scientific polemic to urge Canadians toward the Northwest; and Sir John W. Dawson, a leading geologist at McGill who nevertheless championed the cause of the spurious "eozoon" pseudo-fossil as a symbol of Canada's primeval preeminence. But many other scientists and science-enthusiasts also populate the pages of Zeller's absorbing commentary; indeed, with its cast of thousands, it feels at times like a Russian novel, making the reader long for a handy check-list of Who Was Who, when, where and why.

Chronicling the struggle to create a Geological Survey of Canada, Professor Zeller makes it clear that Logan deserves a place of honour in the pantheon of outstanding Canadians. In the 1980s Logan would probably be a household name. He was clearly a good scientist; but he was much more. Logan's circumstances and activities in the mid-nineteenth century offered an uncanny foretaste of what it would be like to be a leading scientist nearly 150 years later.

Both before and after his appointment to head the new Geological Survey, Logan gathered, evaluated and analyzed data and reported on his findings. In addition, he proved himself to be an astute political operator and administrator, employing his social contacts to further his scientific aims. He was also no mean fund-raiser, another accomplishment that would stand him in good stead today. He was an effective communicator to non-scientists, and an adroit scientific promoter. He could put the most advantageous interpretation on bad news; when, for instance, his investigations led him to conclude that no coal would be found in the Canada of the 1840s, he was careful to stress the compensating abundance of iron and other ores.

Professor Zeller describes vividly the breakthrough that Logan achieved for Canada with his orchestration of the Canadian exhibit at the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace in London, England, in 1851. The exhibit put Canada on the world map as never before. "Of all the British Colonies", declared a French juror, "Canada is that whose exhibition is the most interesting and the most complete, and one may even say it is superior, so far as the mineral kingdom is concerned, to all the countries that have forwarded their products to the Exhibition".

The work of the Survey pushed the frontier steadily north and west. It affected, for instance, the land-tenure arrangements involving the Hudson's Bay Company and other interested groups. In mapping the continuity of landforms extending across political boundaries, and anticipating resources yet to be discovered, it also helped to persuade a growing number of people that Canada should expand, both eastward to combine with the Atlantic colonies and northwestward, looking even to the Rockies and beyond. Professor Zeller quotes extensively from the often flamboyant rhetoric of public addresses and publications that employed geological metaphor to voice these political aspirations.

Another scientific pursuit with similar expansionary overtones was the study of terrestrial magnetism. The location of the magnetic North Pole in the northern reaches of the continent spurred investigations whose ultimate aim was nothing less than a theory of geomagnetism able to explain and predict the behaviour of the earth's magnetic field. To this end Henry Lefroy of the Royal Engineers, based in Toronto, arranged to accompany a Hudson's Bay Company party into the interior of the continent to map the direction and intensity of terrestrial magnetism. Lefroy's journey lasted eighteen months, and took him almost to the mouth of the Mackenzie River and back, some 5,000 miles. Throughout the journey he scrupulously paused several times a day to carry out elaborate measurements with instruments brought for the purpose.

Lefroy's survey failed in its primary purpose; geomagnetism was too complex and variable to yield a convincing theory of its nature until more than a century later. The survey nevertheless established that the isometric lines of magnetic intensity did not run along the parallels of latitude, but curved steadily northwest. The pattern was suggestive, and was soon mirrored in the similar curvatures of the lines of mean temperature recorded by other expeditions and outposts. Scientists of the time believed that magnetic influences played a significant role in weather and climate. This northwesterly trend reinforced a

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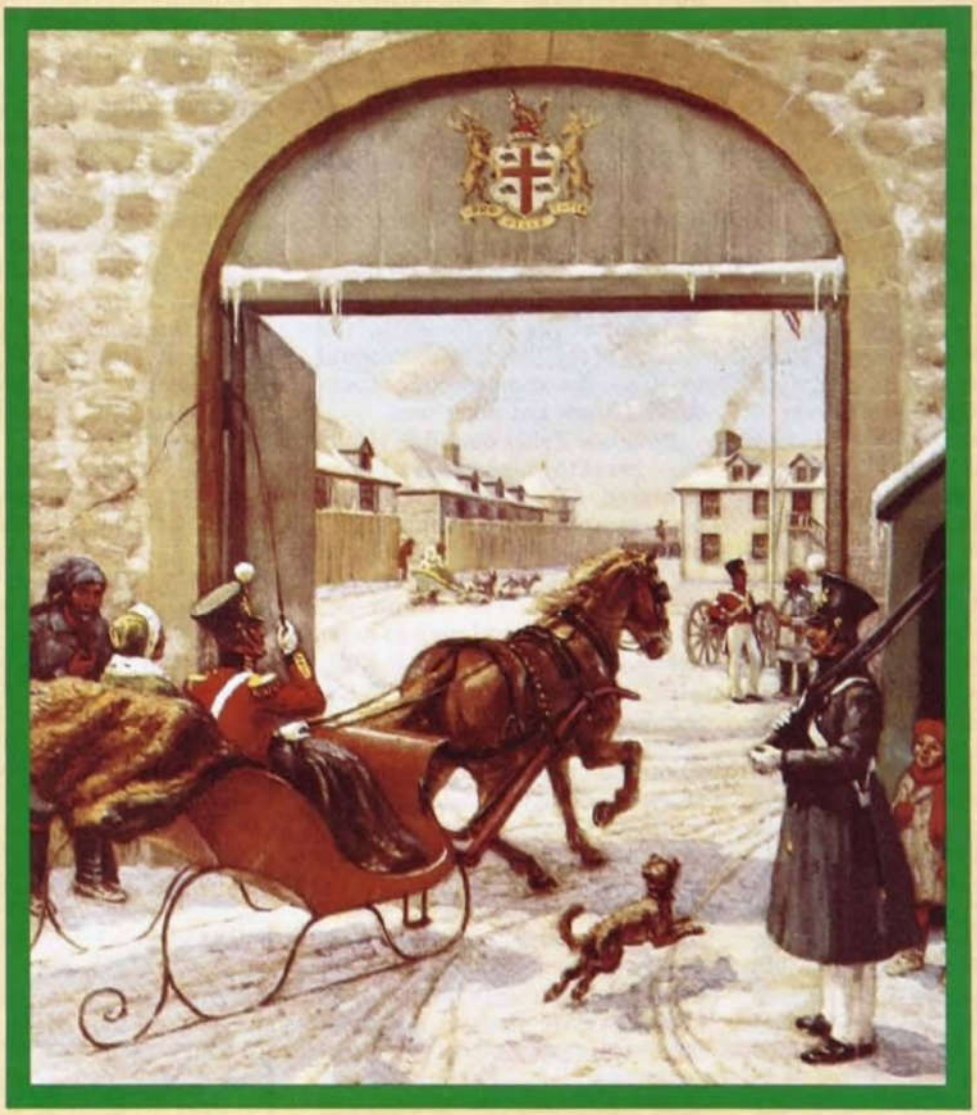
The Beaver for Christmas



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hope long sustained, that the extreme climate of British North America might somehow be ameliorated; at any rate it appeared to indicate that the western region might be more hospitable than the Canada of the 1840s.

One possibility earnestly canvassed was that clearing the forest and bringing land under cultivation would moderate the severity of the Canadian winter. Meteorology became a popular pastime. Egerton Ryerson conceived a master-plan to establish a network of meteorological stations in Canada's grammar schools. He saw the plan as a unifying force, to encourage co-operation and communication between the far-flung communities on a topic of mutual interest: joint scientific endeavour could transcend political and cultural differences and widen perspectives beyond narrow local concerns. Funds were voted to equip the schools with the necessary instruments; but little money was made available to pay schoolmasters to take on some forty hours of extra work per week, carrying out measurements and compiling reports. The scheme foundered.

Meteorology, like geology, also found itself split by conflicting objectives. Some adherents advocated research for the sake of knowledge and the development of long-term scientific theories of weather phenomena; others sought immediate practical applications, like weather-forecasting and storm warnings. Both approaches, however, brought in their train unifying and broadening influences. The theoretical work underlined the value of scientific activities as a Canadian contribution to co-ordinated international research. The practical work enhanced co-operation by conveying useful information across political boundaries.

Botany, another inventory science with obvious importance for Canada, was less fortunate in its major Canadian proponents. The problem of agreeing on a uniform method for classifying plants led to deep schisms between factions. Among the most forward-looking were James Barnston and George Lawson. But Barnston, an outstanding young botanist, the first incumbent of the chair of botany at McGill, died when he was only 27. Lawson, co-founder of the Botanical Society of Canada while teaching at Queen's College, Kingston, left the college after bitter professional and personal wrangling. At the University of Toronto, meanwhile, botany came under the protracted and stultifying regime of William Hincks. Hincks espoused a bizarre and extraordinary theory according to which plants were grouped in interlinked circles of five classes; and he was preoccupied with this theory to the virtual exclusion of the practical field-work that Canadian botany demanded.

Nevertheless, botany too gradually came into its own. The distinctive plant life of Canada even became a touchstone for Canadian nationalists. For them, the evolution of characteristic Canadian varieties of plants hitherto considered European was a metaphor for evolution of a mature Canadian political identity.

Professor Zeller supports her thesis with an impressive body of particulars; almost a quarter of the book is given over to references. This is a book to plunder, itself an "inventory" of material crying out for further exegesis. The book is studded with tantalizing asides. "In 1843 Hooker dispatched Joseph Burke, an under-gardener at Kew, across the HBC territories to collect certain remaining specimens . . . but . . . Hooker had limited knowledge of the British North American territories, and the result for Burke's mission was chaos and confusion if not downright failure." Or again, Thomas Blakiston's "more balanced critical assessment of the HBC territories was obscured when he broke from the Palliser expedition in August 1858. His report lies buried among the expedition's papers, and his meteorological register was never recovered for use in Palliser's final report." What happened, for heaven's sake? The editor of *The Beaver* should be sending scouting parties on foot through pages 275-356.

Despite the richness of her material, Zeller is not, alas, an enthralling story-teller. Her writing style is academic, tending to the dogged. Every now and then it perpetrates a real semantic horror: "The restless impatience and frustration evinced in the desire for coal was in part a reaction against the idea that emulation of British industrialism was an unnatural rather than an inevitable expectation." The whirling negatives make your brain spin; even repeated reading leaves you uneasy as to which way you should be facing.

Despite such lapses, however, *Inventing Canada* abundantly repays thoughtful reading. By traditional historical standards Canada has no business existing as an entity. Its geographical and demographic layout is arbitrary and awkward, its ethnic and cultural roots apparently incoherent and fissile, its economic and political structure unstable. Yet Canada survives. Somehow, against the odds, Canadians have invented a society that manages to withstand these divisive forces. Now more than ever, on a planet riven by similar divisions, we urgently need similar inventiveness, on a global scale.

Walter C. Patterson, a native of Winnipeg now based in Britain, is a writer and commentator specializing in energy and environmental affairs.
He is the author of "Nuclear Power" (Penguin Books) and "Going Critical: An Unofficial History of British Nuclear Power" (Paladin Books).

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Some News of Lapérouse

By Graham A. MacDonald

FROM HUDSON BAY TO BOTANY BAY
The Lost Frigates of Lapérouse
By Russell C. Shelton. NC Press Ltd., Toronto, 1987. 229 pp., illus. $24.95.

The French scientists, beguiled by the marvels of Easter Island, are robbed.

Here is a book for the geographically and historically minded. From the standpoint of English language readers, Russell Shelton has discovered a neglected tale and he re-tells it well. The name Lapérouse is familiar to northern Manitobans of the Churchill region or those who may have visited Fort Prince of Wales at the mouth of the Churchill River. His remarkable capture of the fort in August of 1782, with not a shot being fired, has long tarnished the reputation of Samuel Hearne, the Hudson's Bay Company's man in charge of Fort Prince of Wales at the time. The story is entertainingly told once again in chapter three of this volume. But what a great deal more there is to learn about Lapérouse. In the context of his seafaring exploits as a whole, the Hudson Bay adventure was merely the most audacious, and one undertaken relatively early in his all-too-short career.

The life of Lapérouse provides a fascinating way into the imperial world of the later eighteenth century; and while it is customary to focus on the great conflicts which characterized French-English relations between 1759 and 1815, this story helps to illustrate the commonality of European culture in these years, and the genuine cooperation which could exist when wars were not raging. This was particularly true in the areas of science, letters and exploration. The author justifiably concludes his book with the observation that "it is time that the English-speaking world had more knowledge and appreciation of this outstanding navigator and explorer."

The enterprise of exploration in those years had certain dimensions of an international fraternity. As a youngster, Lapérouse idolized Captain James Cook and consumed all of his writings. Such personalities inspired the young French nobleman, (Jean-Francois de Galaup, Compte de La Pérouse) to pursue a naval career. His career ended in 1788 at age 47 off the Solomon Islands. How or why was a question not guessed at for forty years and not finally resolved until the 1950s.

In his own time, Lapérouse captured the imagination of pre-revolutionary, and indeed, post-revolutionary France. In 1793, five years after the disappearance of Lapérouse, one of his greatest patrons, Louis XVI, was awaiting his appointment with Madame La Guillotine. On the night before his death he was still interested enough in life to ask: "Is there any news of Lapérouse?" The new democratic leadership was not hostile to the achievements of Lapérouse and demonstrated some interest in his fate; but the complications on the continent and the period of the Napoleonic Wars meant that serious attempts to locate his ships did not commence again until the 1820s. What was the context of this sense of loss?

The end of hostilities between England and France in 1763 allowed for a certain period of peace between the powers, complicated only by the colonial revolts, and then another period of relative peace following the conclusion of the revolution in America. Captain Cook accomplished three major voyages in the period 1768-79 and with the publishing of details of these voyages, general knowledge of the South Seas greatly expanded. Two years after Lapérouse's amazing victory in Hudson Bay, details of Cook's third voyage were published. This report included important information on the potential of the fur trade in Nootka Sound. Louis XVI decided to embark upon a course of imperial

exploration for scientific and commercial purposes. The task fell to Lapérouse, and in 1785 he was charged with co-ordinating and leading a major voyage on the Pacific from south to north. He had been chosen because, in Shelton's words, he was "renowned as a navigator, leader, geographer and naturalist; a devoted student of Cook, he was the possessor of a keen scientific mind." While his domestic life was complicated, his professional star was in the ascendant. The description of this voyage, undertaken between 1785 and 1788, occupies the central chapters of this book. We go with Lapérouse from Brest south around Cape Horn, on to Chile, Easter Island and the Islands of Hawaii, Spanish California, the North American Pacific Coast, across to the Philippines, north to Japan and Kamchatka, and south to Botany Bay on the east coast of Australia (his last major known port-of-call). A strait between Sakhalin Island and Japan still bears his name on some maps.

Perhaps the most fortuitous event of all is the actual survival of Lapérouse's journals and letters when they might as easily have disappeared with the expedition and its 221 crew members, scientists, and artisans. By the time Lapérouse had reached Botany Bay there were at least twelve Chinese members of the crew. The chief botanist was one Joseph de Lamartinière of the Jardin du Roi. His assistant, a gardener by the name of Jean-Nicolas Collignon, established a garden at Botany Bay which survived into the early settlement period and was known locally to pioneers as "the French Garden". All such details have come down to us because on two occasions Lapérouse chose to send his accumulated writings back to France rather than risk their survival on board ship. The first load was sent from Petropavlovsk, in Kamchatka, to Paris by an overland route. Young Barthelémy de Lesseps, the expedition's Russian translator, was charged with the task of getting the valuable boxes to Paris. De Lesseps made the journey which itself became the subject of two books he wrote in later years.

The last depiction of Lapérouse on Russian soil.

It was also de Lesseps who positively identified artifacts obtained by the redoubtable Irishman Peter Dillon who located the general site of the Lapérouse wrecks near the island of Vanikoro in 1826.

The second important decision made by Lapérouse came while he was refitting in Botany Bay. He decided to turn the papers and journals which he had accumulated since leaving Kamchatka over to the British Navy for conveyance to the French Ambassador in London. This he did just before his fateful departure for the Solomon Islands in March 1788. Thus, the only pieces missing from the hand of Lapérouse are his records between 10 March and June 1788. The journals arrived in London on the eve of the French Revolution when Lapérouse had already been reported six months overdue in the Ile-de-France off the coast of India. French and English editions of his journals appeared in 1797, and other editions have appeared since.

Shelton's study is of great interest to the student of underwater archaeology and the development of that specialization in the twentieth century. The time, costs, co-ordination of personnel, and the sheer discipline involved in its proper conduct are all well described, particularly with reference to the work of the New Zealander, Reece Discombe. It was he who rediscovered the sites of the heavily coral-encrusted wrecks in the late 1950s. While the appearance on the market of such useful equipment as scuba gear was of great assistance, Shelton stresses the importance of preparatory research. Discombe was a master of the available literature and was always certain that the most important clues in his underwater search were to be found in the accounts left by others before him.

The book is well illustrated and there is a good reference map of the great voyage along with a bibliography of Lapérouse studies. Also of interest is an appendix indicating sites and museological treatments in Canada and elsewhere dealing with the commemoration of Lapérouse.

Graham A. MacDonald lives in Winnipeg and works with The Crocus Group, a firm of heritage planners.

A Servant of the State

THE MEMOIRS OF GENERAL JEAN V. ALLARD

Written in co-operation with Serge Bernier. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1988. 366 pp., illus. $34.95.

By Robert Saunders

General Jean Allard was furious. It was July of 1967 and Charles de Gaulle had just shouted "Vive le Quebec libre" — the rallying cry of the separatists — from a Montreal balcony. Such ill-mannered mischief-making could not be tolerated, General Allard felt. There was to be a reception at the French embassy in Ottawa that week but he declined to attend. An anxious aide-de-camp asked what reason should be given to the embassy to justify this refusal. "Tell them", said General Allard curtly, "that I have to repair the plumbing in my bathroom at home."

The incident is typical of the blunt, down-to-earth general. He is himself a francophone, the first to become Chief of the Canadian Defence Staff, but his first loyalty has always been to Canada. He has fought hard for equality for francophones in the armed forces but separatism has never been part of his creed.

This uncomplicated patriotism and loyalty — combined with a high degree of competence and extensive military experience — rendered General Allard peculiarly well suited to the task of unifying the armed forces in 1968. Twenty years ago unification was among the most rancorous and divisive issues in Canadian politics and General Allard was in the thick of the fray. The fact that he was francophone was an asset in two ways. It helped to blunt criticism of unification in Quebec and it also meant that the general was able to take a more objective and dispassionate view of some customs and traditions which others were apt to regard as sacred simply because they also happened to be British.

Other chapters in General Allard's memoirs deal with his early struggles, his command of the celebrated "Vandoos" in the Second

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World War and his later services in the Korean War and as military attaché in Moscow. His military career has been extraordinarily varied and it is not without justice that he described himself, with engaging humor, as a FINK — the initials, in this case, standing for a Flying Infantryman with Naval Knowledge. This is a clear, straightforward account of a segment of Canada's military history, written by a courageous and honourable man who has rendered the state considerable service.

There are also, throughout the book, appealing glimpses of another Jean Allard, a devoted husband and father who has shared fully in the heartaches and joys that are a part of every family's life.

Both the original French version of these memoirs and the English translation were prepared in cooperation with Serge Bernier, historian at the Directorate of History, Department of National Defence.

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THE PACKET

Letters, Notes and Opinion

Harding in Vancouver

I read with great interest the article, President Harding's Last Stand, by Robert C. Belyk [*The Beaver*, February/March 1988]. The reason for my interest was my personal knowledge of a postscript to this story which Mr. Belyk may or may not have known about. In honour of President Harding's visit in 1923 Mr. R.J. Cromie, the owner of the *Vancouver Sun*, commissioned a painting which portrayed the President standing beneath a colourful canopy in Stanley Park, addressing a large crowd of people. With arms outstretched he declared, "I extend my arms to you in fraternal greeting". This is the name of the famous painting which was presented by the *Vancouver Sun* on behalf of the people of Canada to the people of the United States, formally presented by Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador and accepted by President Coolidge at the National Press Club in Washington.

As an additional commemorative gesture Mr. Cromie wrote letters to about 100 prominent leaders in public life in both Canada and the United States, asking them to send him a message of friendship and goodwill in honour of Harding's visit. The message was to be printed on the letterhead paper of the organization which each man represented and 100 copies returned to Mr. Cromie, each with the sender's signature. The letters were then mounted on 13½ x 10½ black folio paper and beautifully bound. A copy of the famous painting is the frontispiece. One book was presented with the painting in Washington and one book was sent to each of the contributors.

The list of contributors contains the names of many prominent and well-known persons of a former generation. Without going into detail I can briefly summarize by saying that they included Prime Minister Mackenzie King, the leader of the Canadian Senate, Mr. Herbert Hoover, secretary of the U.S. Department of Commerce, 10 governors of American states, 9 premiers and lieutenant governors of Canadian provinces, 6 mayors of Canadian cities, 16 American university presidents, 3 Canadian university presidents, 2 presidents of Canadian railways, 6 business men, 2 religious leaders, 32 editors of American newspapers, 1 editor of a Canadian newspaper.

My father, Rev. Arch. Ward, who was a clergyman in Saskatoon at the time, happened to be the president of the Baptist Union of Western Canada that year and on their behalf he was asked to send a message to Mr. Cromie. In due time he received a copy of this interesting and historic book, inscribed on the title page "To Theologian Arch. Ward from Journalist R.J. Cromie". I still have the book in my possession and prize it highly as a unique historic document. The emotional impact of Harding's visit is reflected in the beautifully expressed sentiments in many of the letters — which might sound out of place in today's world.

Gordon M. Ward,
Kitchener,
Ontario.

Tourists on the Bay

The first luxury tour ship to visit Hudson Bay arrived in the small Manitoba coastal town of Churchill on Saturday 20 August during a slow season for the northern port.

The luxurious *World Discoverer* was chartered by Stanford University under its Travel/Study Programs and by the Smithsonian Institution for special study tours of the Arctic. Passengers were accompanied by faculty members, geologists, archaeologists, naturalists and other study leaders.

The Stanford group flew to Reykjavik, Iceland on 6 August — and then sailed to Greenland, Button Island off the tip of the Labrador Peninsula, Akpatok Islands in Ungava Bay, Cape Dorset N.W.T., Southampton Island, Coral Harbour, and Coats Island, Rankin Inlet, Marble Island and Eskimo Point, all in Hudson Bay, before reaching Churchill. The Smithsonian group flew to Winnipeg from St. Paul, Minnesota on Saturday 20 August — before travelling to Churchill where they boarded the ship to do the same trip in reverse.

Travellers have been so impressed with their experience that Society Expeditions Cruises Inc., operators of the trips, plan two more cruises next year, with essentially the same itinerary except that the trip beginning in Churchill will turn south once out of Hudson Bay and sail down the coast of Labrador to the island of St. Pierre, off the coast of Newfoundland.

One of the Stanford group said, "From now on this new tour will be a top world attraction". The travellers saw thousands of beluga whales at the mouth of the Churchill River, and visited the 250-year-old Fort Prince of Wales across the river mouth from the town. The travellers were also impressed with the Inuit carvings and other artifacts at the Eskimo Museum in the town of Churchill.

Coming soon in The Beaver

- **Victorian Temptations** by Mary Shortt.
  While Victorian Canadians flocked to enjoy the delights of "the wicked stage", moralists struggled in vain to stamp it out.
- **The Revenge of the Paris Hat** by Hugh Grant.
  The European craze for headgear, which reached its climax between 1667 and 1850, had a profound effect on Canadian history.
- **Women of the Klondike** by Frances Backhouse.
  Read about the indomitable Mrs. Mary E. Hitchcock and her companion Miss Edith van Buren, society ladies who travelled to the gold rush with a parrot, two dozen pigeons and a portable bowling alley.
- **Russians on the West Coast** by Alix O'Grady.
  The Czarist dream of empire envisaged Russian colonies along the West Coast of North America.

Read these and other fascinating articles and reviews in the December '88/January '89 issue of **The Beaver.**

Hard Words

Trevor Lautens' harsh review of my book *Hard Choices: A Life Of Tom Berger* [*The Beaver,* December/January] has only now come to my attention. While it is gratifying to see a review nearly a year after publication, particularly such a lengthy one in the most prestigious of magazines, I do regret that Lautens missed the point and purpose of the book. My aim was clearly defined. It was to look at Berger's careers to show how one person can accomplish social, political or legal change. I would not have presumed to pass judgment on the life of a fifty-year-old man. Lautens disappoints when he equates the absence of the dirt of scandal with "a spadepat of the earth over the grave". He would, apparently, have us write only of dead or scandalous Canadians. In defence of *Hard Choices,* I say there is room for this book and others of its style.

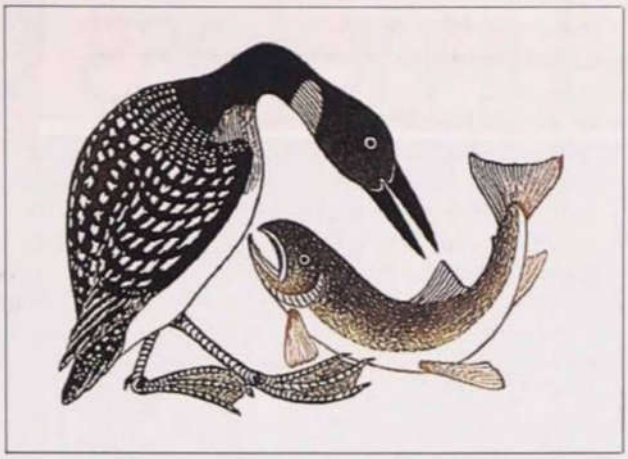
Carolyn N. Swayze,
White Rock,
British Columbia.

East is East

The article entitled "Our Intrepid Reporter" [*The Beaver,* April/May 1988] was very entertaining, but I must point out that Sara Duncan and her companion were travelling from east to west, and not vice-versa as is stated in the second paragraph. Ms. MacDonald was no doubt bemused by the mystery of the Orient.

A.K.D. Townsend,
Hong Kong.

"The Loon and the Fish" by Kananginak



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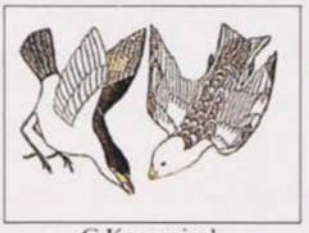

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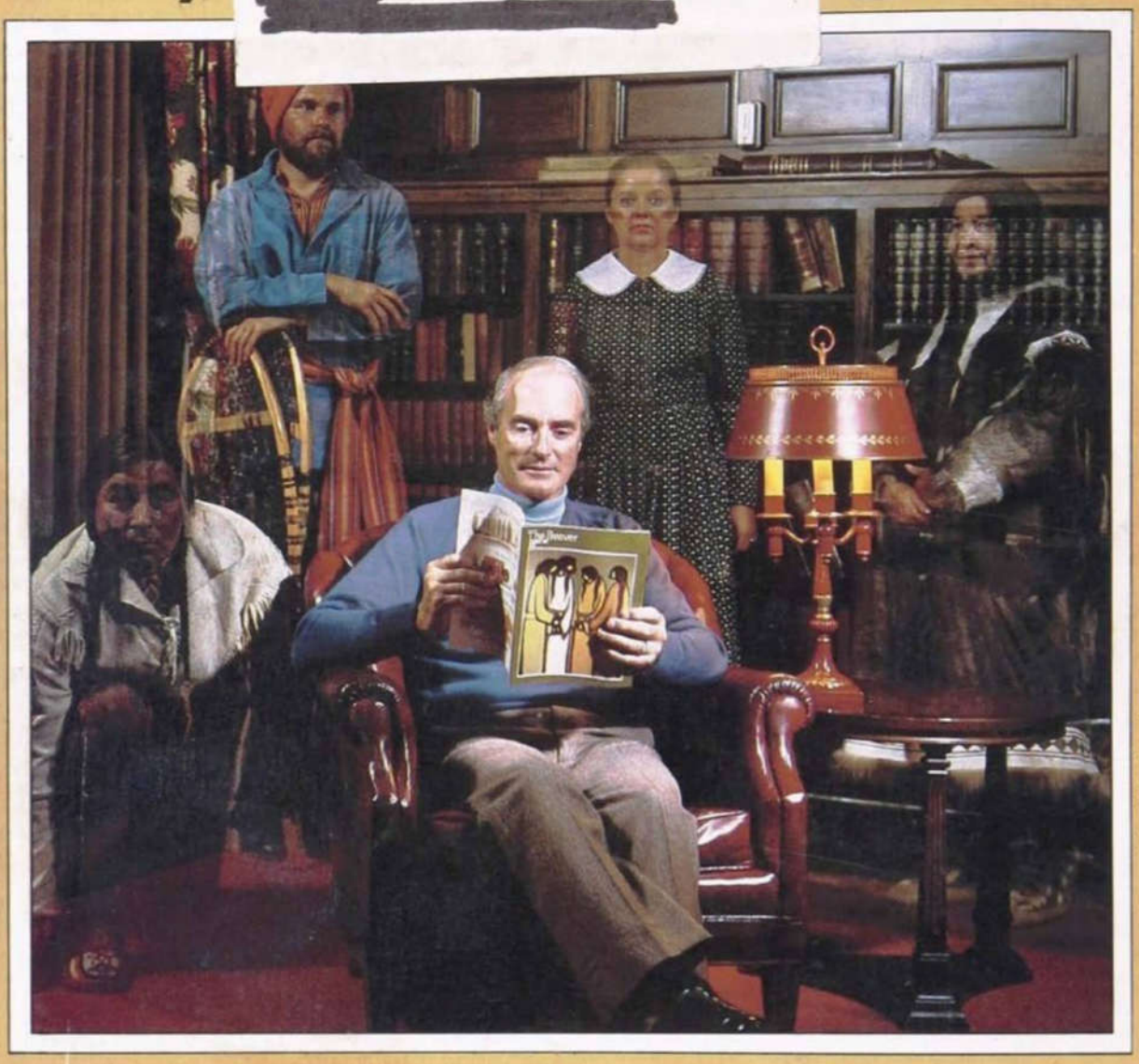

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